

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
DAVIS, ARTHUR L.—Fontane and the German Revolution of 1848, -	1
FRANK, GRACE.—Wine Reckonings in Bodel's 'Jeu de S. Nicolas,' -	9
PAINTER, SIDNEY.—The Sources of 'Fouke Fitz Warin,' -	13
WILLIAMS, EDWIN B.—Portuguese Intervocalic 'n,' -	16
BRENNER, CLARENCE D.—Some Notes on Volange and Janot, -	18
FREDRICK, EDNA C.—'L'Été de la Saint-Martin' and 'Le Consente- ment forcé,' -	21
FRIEDMAN, ARTHUR.—Goldsmith's 'Life of Bolingbroke' and the 'Biographia Britannica,' -	25
DREW, HELEN L.—The Date of Burke's 'Sublime and Beautiful,' -	29
FLETCHER, EDWARD G.—Defoe on Milton, -	31
McCUE, G. S.—A Seventeenth-Century Gulliver, -	32
REICHART, W. A.—Washington Irving, the Fosters, and the Forsters, -	35
JONES, FREDERICK L.—Two Notes on 'Epipsychidion,' -	40
JONES, CLAUDE E.—Christ a Fury? -	41
WEBER, CARL J.—Care and Carelessness in Hardy, -	41

REVIEWS:—

ALBERT FEUILLERAT, <i>Comment Marcel Proust a composé son roman.</i> [J.-A. Bédé.] -	43
W. T. BANDY, <i>Baudelaire Judged by His Contemporaries (1845-1867).</i> [A. Schaffer.] -	46
THOR J. BECK, <i>Northern Antiquities in French Learning and Literature</i> (1755-1855). [Horatio Smith.] -	47
DOROTHY DOOLITTLE, <i>The Relations between Literature and Mediaeval</i> <i>Studies in France from 1820-1860.</i> [Meta H. Miller.] -	48
DOROTHY PENN, <i>The Staging of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame par</i> <i>personnages" of the MS. Cangé.</i> [Jean G. Wright.] -	50
H. SPARNAA, <i>Hartmann von Aue.</i> [F. H. Wilkens.] -	52
N. B. FAGIN, <i>William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape.</i> [Lane Cooper.] -	54
L. H. MEEKS, <i>Sheridan Knowles and the Theatre of his time.</i> [A. E. DuBois.] -	56
ARTHUR CHRISTY, <i>The Orient in American Transcendentalism.</i> [P. H. Boynton.] -	58
C. K. HYDER, <i>Swinburne's Literary Career and Fame.</i> [S. C. Chew.] -	59
E. H. PEARCE and L. WHIBLEY (eds.), <i>The Correspondence of Richard</i> <i>Hurd and William Mason.</i> [A. L. Smith.] -	60
E. C. HICKSON, <i>The Versification of Thomas Hardy.</i> [P. M. Buck, Jr.] -	61

BRIEF MENTION: FRITZ SAXL (ed.), *Vorträge 1930/1931: England und die Antike*; H. T. PRICE (ed.), JOHN GHESEL, *The Rule of Health*; C. C. F. (ed.), RICHARD HODGES, *A Special Help to Orthographie*; C. E. P. (ed.), *The Art of Limming*; E. M. SICKELS, *The Gloomy Egoist*; M. C. STEUBLE, *A Johnson Handbook*; H. V. D. DYSON (ed.), *Pope, Poetry and Prose*; M. RENZULLI, *La Poesia di Shelley*; S. T. WILLIAMS (ed.), *Washington Irving and the Storrows*; C. I. GLICKSBERG, *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*; R. WITHERINGTON (ed.), *Essays and Characters, Montaigne to Goldsmith, Lamb to Thompson*; L. BINYON (trans.), *Dante's Inferno*; W. D. MACCLINTOCK, *Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope*; J. W. DODDS, *Thomas Southerne Dramatist*; *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XV; S. M. TUCKER (ed.), *Modern Plays*, - 62

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CARDINAL NEWMAN

AND

WILLIAM FROUDE, F. R. S.

A Correspondence

By GORDON HUNTINGTON HARPER

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FONTANE AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848

It has often been maintained that the poet or novelist who has an intuitive insight into those impenetrable forces which seem to determine our political and social life can comprehend the significance of contemporaneous events more profoundly and can predict the future course of things more accurately than the politician or historian himself. Theodor Fontane, one of the greatest German novelists of the nineteenth century, was apparently blessed with this singular gift.¹ Even a cursory reading of Fontane's works, more especially of his autobiography and letters, will reveal innumerable pertinent comments on contemporaneous affairs; a more careful investigation will bring to light passages which are characterized by extraordinary political sagacity and accuracy of prediction, and which bear witness to the fact that Fontane, throughout a long lifetime, maintained a profound interest in the momentous historical events of his century. This study is limited to a brief review of those passages in the novelist's works which reveal his attitude toward the German Revolution of 1848.

Fontane's interest in historical events, which was first aroused by his father's fascinating anecdotes concerning Napoleon and his marshals,² was greatly enhanced by a series of exciting historical happenings preceding the political upheaval of 1848, namely, the revolutionary movements of the twenties and thirties. It is little wonder, therefore, that Fontane, who was growing up amidst these many attacks upon the reactionary governments of the Metternich

¹ Cf. A. Davis, "Fontane as a Prophet of German Political Life," *MLN.*, XLVIII, 449 (Nov., 1933).

² Cf. *Meine Kinderjahre*, 2, I, 434, where Fontane gives a very amusing and interesting illustration of his father's teaching methods. Reference is to series, volume, and page of the *Gesamtausgabe der erzählenden Schriften in neun Bänden*, Berlin, 1925.

Era, should be attracted and, temporarily at least, influenced by the prevalent liberal atmosphere. During the period of his apprenticeship as apothecary in Berlin, 1836-1840, Fontane's free afternoons were often spent in the cafés, reading such anti-reactionary papers as *Der Beobachter an der Spree*, *Der Freimütige*, *Der Gesellschafter*, *Der Berliner Figaro*, papers in which he undoubtedly read many articles written by adherents of "Young Germany." Again in 1840, when Fontane moved to Leipzig to begin his career as apothecary, he found himself in the very center of German liberalism, many writers, poets, and radical political leaders having been attracted by the freedom of speech and press existing at that time in the Saxon city. In the Herwegh Club, which he joined soon after his arrival in Leipzig, Fontane met, among others, Wolfsohn, Herwegh, Robert Blum, Georg Günther, and Max Müller, young liberals whose names later were to become prominent in the political and literary history of Germany. In the same year, Fontane, being at heart Prussian, experienced the new but short-lived hope for liberal reform which was aroused by the succession of Frederick William IV to the throne of the Hohenzollern. "Ich zählte," he writes, "so jung und unerfahren ich war, doch ganz zu denen, die das Anbrechen einer neuen Zeit begrüßten, und fühlte mich unendlich beglückt, an dem erwachenden politischen Leben teilnehmen zu können."³

In 1844 Fontane was back in Berlin. Two events of primary importance in the development of the young author during this year were his service in the army and his initiation into the literary club *Der Tunnel über der Spree*, also called *Der Sonntagsverein*.⁴ About his army experience Fontane has little to say, although it is obvious that it was the foundation of his intimate knowledge of military life which plays such an important rôle in his works. *Der Tunnel*, however, continued to exercise an important influence upon his life for many years. It was here that he was introduced to Scott's works and to Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* and thereby received his schooling in ballad writing. In sharp contrast to the *Herwegh Club* in Leipzig, there prevailed here a

³ *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, 2, IV, 17.

⁴ *Der Tunnel* is fully treated by Fontane in his autobiography *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, 2, IV, 174 ff., and in a special study, *Friedrich Scherenberg und das literarische Berlin von 1840 bis 1860*, Berlin, 1885.

conservative spirit, and Fontane seems to have rapidly forgotten his enthusiasm for political freedom and liberal reform.

Intimate contact with both liberal and conservative elements during the forties, as well as his innate feeling for law and order, explain Fontane's change of attitude toward the Revolution which broke out in Berlin in March, 1848. His immediate but transitory reaction to this important event was probably determined, in part at least, by the circumstances of his position at Jung's apothecary shop, which was located near Alexanderplatz, and whose customers, therefore, belonged to the poorer bourgeoisie and proletariat. One can readily understand how Fontane, influenced by this environment and carried away by the enthusiasm of the crowds, was moved to participate in the insurrection, an act which was entirely foreign to his nature, and which he very soon was to regret.

As related in his autobiography,⁵ Fontane's first impulse upon learning of the uprising was to sound an alarm, but the church to which he rushed was closed, and his attempt to force an entrance was not successful. Thereupon he joined a mob which was storming the theater in order to procure weapons, most of which of course were worthless. Seizing a gun the young revolutionist marched with the excited throng to a store where he was issued powder. As he was sitting on the steps, gun between his knees, stuffing enough powder into the barrel to blow it to pieces, a bystander remarked: "Na, hören Sie. . . ." These few simple words were enough to recall him to his senses. "Worte," he says, "die gut gemeint und ohne Spott gesprochen waren, aber doch mit einem Male meiner Heldenlaufbahn ein Ende machten."⁶

During the next few days Fontane learned, much to his disillusionment, how basely the revolutionists had acquitted themselves in the struggle for the realization of their ideals. At the first approach of the regular troops they had scattered, fleeing into their homes and taking refuge behind doors and chimneys, from which hiding places many had been dragged out and shot. However, after the king had ordered the soldiers to withdraw, the survivors had issued forth from their concealment to embrace each other and to extend congratulations on the event of their "glorious" victory. Confronted with such unheroic action, Fontane realized that

⁵ *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, 2, IV, 388 f. • ⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, IV, 391.

unorganized mobs could accomplish little in the face of well-trained Prussian troops. There is no doubt that he wished for the victory of the people, but his sensitive esthetic feelings were deeply offended, and his innate predilection for law and order, replaced for a short time by an ephemeral enthusiasm for the Revolution, became dominant again. It is highly significant that not one of his lyric poems of freedom, which were written in 1848 in the style of Herwegh, was deemed by him worthy of inclusion in his collected poems.⁷

That Fontane, however, continued to be interested in the political significance of the Revolution and in subsequent developments, particularly the sessions of the Frankfurt Assembly, where the conflict between "Grossdeutschland und Kleindeutschland" soon reached a climax, is indicated by four political essays written by him in 1848 and published in the *Berliner Zeitungshalle*⁸ shortly before this liberal paper was suppressed by the government. These articles, to be sure, do not represent the author's permanent convictions, but as indicative of the general mood of the time, and as articles of purely political tendency they are of considerable historical, as well as literary interest. H. Spiero writes in commendation: "... in der Knappheit ihrer Fassung, in der Bildhaftigkeit ihres Ausdrucks gehören sie zum Glänzendsten, was er je auf ein Zeitungsblatt drucken liess."⁹

In the first article of August 31, Fontane directly and openly attacks the weakness of Prussia. Thoroughly convinced that political leadership could no longer be expected from this source, he writes: "Preussen muss zerfallen. Seine Provinzen glichen ebenso vielen Eisenstäben, die ohne Anziehungskraft untereinander nur durch das Tau eines absoluten Willens zusammengehalten wurden. Das Tau ist mürbe geworden, es wird zerrissen, und die Eisenstäbe werden folgen, wohin der Magnet der Stammesgleichheit sie zieht."¹⁰ Furthermore, Fontane was persuaded that an obsolete

⁷ P. Szczepanski, *Theodor Fontane*, Leipzig, o.J., p. 10. Cf. letter, written in 1887, to the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*: "Ebenso bleiben politische Gedichte ganz ohne Eindruck auf mich, wenn ich den Standpunkt des Dichters nicht teile; sehr schöne Sachen von Freiligrath, Herwegh, Heine, selbst von Platen lassen mich kalt, bloss weil ich mir sage: 'ja, das liegt aber alles ganz anders' . . ." Published in *Das literarische Echo*, 14 (1912), 1360.

⁸ Organ of the radicals edited by Gustav Julius.

⁹ *Fontane*, Wittenberg, 1928, p. 39.

¹⁰ Quoted by Spiero, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

reactionary government must yield to a younger, more vital force. This meant, in his opinion, the establishment of a Republic, which he publicly advocated, thereby allying himself with the party of the Left under the leadership of Robert Blum. "Freiheit um jeden Preis! ihr nachgestrebt, ihr jedes Opfer gebracht—das sei unveränderlich die Losung des Tages."¹¹

This enthusiasm is somewhat abated in the third article, in which he attacks the wavering policy of the Frankfurt Assembly in the Schleswig-Holstein problem, which at that moment was so serious, that it threatened to precipitate a general European conflict. The decision of the Assembly to withdraw its active support of the provinces in their fight for freedom from Danish rule prompted Fontane to remark: "Sie schändet die Grösse und den Ruhm der Nation."¹² Particularly accusing Prussia of lack of sympathy for the people, he cries:

Kennt Ihr die Brücke von Arcole? Drüben die Stillstandsmänner und ihre Kanonen, hier der Fortschritt und seine Begeisterung. Gleich jenem volkentstammten Korseu ergreift das Volk die Fahne der neuen Zeit, und über Leichen und Trümmer hin stürmt es unaufhaltsam zum Siege.¹³

Of greater importance for us are Fontane's later views on this revolutionary movement, the significance of which he was able, at a maturer age, to survey more objectively. His intuitive ability realistically to size up a situation enabled him to look at this disorganized movement as a fiasco, and he was thoroughly ashamed of his part in it, although he was not blind to the need of a revolutionary change in the organization of the government at that time. It was the method rather than the objective which offended his "Ordnungsgefühl" and his intrinsic esthetic nature.

Soon after 1848 Fontane's letters and poems, which one may consider to be the most spontaneous and direct expression of his views on the subject, contain passages which are characterized by outspoken contempt for the unsuccessful movement on the part of the bourgeoisie to force a reform of the Prussian Government. A few quotations will suffice to indicate this change of attitude.

¹¹ Quoted by H. Hass, "Theodor Fontanes politische Anschauungen," *Deutsches Volkstum* (1927), II, 815.

¹² Quoted by Spiero, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 40. Cf. the poems "Zwei Preussen" and "Preussisches Volkslied," *Allerlei Gereimtes. Gedichte aus dem Nachlass*, hrsg. von W. Rost, Dresden, 1931, pp. 42 and 50 respectively.

In 1852, while in Brussels, Fontane's attention was called to the contrast between the spirit of 1848 in Germany and that of the city republics of the Middle Ages in Flanders. He writes to his wife: "Das waren die noblen Tage der Selbstregierung, wonach wir jetzt schreien und wozu wir nicht mehr und nicht weniger mitbringen als—nichts. Die Bürger von damals dachten und taten alles selbst; für unsre feisten Bourgeois muss gedacht und getan werden: der Götze der Bequemlichkeit hat den Gott der Freiheit in den Staub getreten."¹⁴ In the bourgeoisie of Berlin Fontane observed a lack of unselfishness; their efforts for freedom had not been characterized by a heroic spirit of devotion to a great ideal.

The following poem, written about the same time, ridicules the popular assemblies of the revolutionary days.

Königtum, Adel, Stände zumal,
Sind veraltet, sind feudal,
.
.
.
Weg damit! Die neue Zeit
Will eine neue Gerechtigkeit.
Lassen das Alte wir bei den Ahnen,
Schreiben wir heut auf unsre Fahnen:
Statt des Gesetzes, der Freiheit Netz,
Wollen wir Freiheit vom Gesetz!¹⁵

Again, many years later, we read this significant passage in the *Vossische Zeitung*, in a criticism of Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*, which was in great favor at that time because of its liberal sentiment:

Es sind aber nicht bloss die "Widderhörner," deren Ton die Hörer gefangen nimmt, es ist vor allem auch der Ton, der durch das ganze Stück klingt, der Ton jenes lichtfreundlichen Liberalismus aus der zweiten Hälfte der vierziger Jahre, der mit öden Redensarten das Bestehende zu dethronisieren und eine schönere Zeit heraufzuführen trachtete. Freiheit morgens, Freiheit mittags, Freiheit abends; die Zeit, da wir nach

¹⁴ Fontane, *Briefe an seine Familie*, hrsg. von K. E. O. Fritsch, Berlin, 1924, I, 9.

¹⁵ *Allerlei Gereimtes*, p. 228 f. Cf. the poems "Zwei Liberale" and "Berliner Republikaner," *Gedichte*, I, I, 377 and 379 respectively. Fontane also shows great contempt for the political refugees who fled to England during the reactionary period following the revolutionary movements of 1848. Cf. *Aus England und Schottland*, p. 15: "Dann gesellen sich die französischen Flüchtlinge zu den unseren, und bei Bier und Brandy wird die Brüderlichkeit beider Völker proklamiert und beschworen . . . ein wahres Höllentreiben!"

glücklicher Absolvierung unserer Märztage stolz darauf waren, das freieste Volk der Erde zu sein, weil wir einen Freiheitsparagraphen mehr hatten als alle anderen Nationen. Nicht die geringste Sorge darüber, dass die Tage bereits vor der Tür standen, da der Freiheitswert dieser Papierparagraphen nicht grösser war als seinerzeit der Geldwert der Assignaten.¹⁶

Fontane had little sympathy with the "Menschheitsbeglückter *par force*, die gewaltsam heilen, helfen oder gar selig machen wollen."¹⁷

This opinion of the Revolution apparently did not change with the years, for in 1898, the year of his death, Fontane wrote to his friend Stephany:

Übrigens fangen die Erinnerungen an den 18. März an, scheusslich langweilig zu werden. Eine Unsumme von Nichtigkeiten türmt sich auf. Als historisches Ereignis war es eine grosse Sache, als Heldenleistung urschwach. Scharmützel. Unsere Enkel werden erst die wirkliche Schlacht zu schlagen haben.¹⁸

On the other hand it should be pointed out that Fontane was fully aware of the need of revolutions at certain epochs in the evolution of a state. In his autobiography *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig* he makes it clear that he considered the Revolution of 1848 inevitable.¹⁹ The citizens were weary of the old order of things, not because they had especially suffered under it, but because they were ashamed of it. Not only were all the institutions of government antiquated, but an attempt was even being made to revive the "ancient régime." "Wiederherstellung und Erweiterung des 'Ständischen,'" surrounded by a certain halo, was proposed by those in power as the only force which could bring about "wahre Freiheit und gesunden Fortschritt." At any rate, they asserted, it would be better than a constitution, which was nothing more than a scrap of paper.

But Fontane believed that revolutions, in order to be justifiable, must be successful.

So hat denn alles Einsetzen von Gut und Blut, von Leib und Leben zunächst meine herzlichsten Sympathien, obenan die Kämpfe der Nieder-

¹⁶ Fontane, *Kritische Causerien über Theater*, hrsg. von P. Schlenther, Berlin, 1905, p. 143 f.

¹⁷ *Von vor und nach der Reise*, 2, I, 581.

¹⁸ Fontane, *Briefe an seine Freunde*, hrsg. von O. Pniower und P. Schlenther, Berlin, 1925, II, 461.

¹⁹ 2, IV, 383 ff.

länder, neuerdings die Garibaldischen. Aber noch einmal, es läuft, mir selber verwunderlich, ein entgegengesetztes Gefühl daneben her, und solange die Revolutionskämpfe des sicheren Sieges entbehren, begleite ich alle diese Auflehnungen nicht bloss mit Misstrauen (zu welchem meist nur zu viel Grund vorhanden ist), sondern auch mit einer grösseren oder geringeren, ich will nicht sagen in meinem Rechts-, aber doch in meinem Ordnungsgefühle begründeten Missbilligung.²⁰

And revolutions which, unlike the German uprising of 1848, are more than a *Putsch*, more than a volcanic eruption, are, according to Fontane, destined to succeed; for such revolutions, being the result of a gradual, organic development, imply also the education of the people for their responsibilities, without which every insurrection is futile. Perhaps the American experiment, which interested Fontane in his later years, is a good example of this type of the political evolution of a state. In *Von vor und nach der Reise* we find this significant passage:

(Es gilt) Der Betrachtung eines beständig fortschreitenden Amerikanismus, eines eigentümlich freiheitlichen Entwicklungsganges, den zu verfolgen seit Jahr und Tag meine Passion ist. Ein solcher Appell an Gesinnung und Ehre, nicht bloss vom Standpunkte landläufiger Moral, sondern von einem Standpunkte der Ebenbürtigkeit aus, das stammt alles von drüben, das ist modern, ist amerikanisch. Und jede neue Wahrnehmung davon erquickt mich.²¹

In summary it may be said that Fontane, like the young German writers of the time, was influenced by the fervent enthusiasm for political reform which spread throughout Germany in 1848. But in Fontane's case it was merely a fleeting enthusiasm. His innate feeling for law and order and his intuitive insight into the deeper significance of the Revolution of 1848 soon enabled him more accurately than most men of this period to understand the mistakes in method and the deficiencies in organization of the movement which attempted to establish prematurely a new political order. Perhaps the much quoted poem which was written about 1889 sums up most pregnantly and aptly all that can be said on the subject of Fontane's attitude toward the German Revolution of 1848:

In Arkadien wurd' auch ich geboren.
Auch ich habe mal auf Freiheit geschworen.

²⁰ *Meine Kinderjahre*, 2, 1, 423.

²¹ 2, 1, 539.

Ich hasste Schranzen und Fürstenschmeichler,
 Glaubte beinah an Held und Eichler,
 Und Herwegh, Karl Beck und Dingelstedten
 Erhob ich zu meinen Leibpoeten.
 "Auf dem offenen Meere der Freiheit schwimmen . . .
 Ein Volk muss immer sich selbst bestimmen,
 Ein Volk geht immer die rechten Wege,
 Nieder die Polizeigehege,
 Nieder die *possidentes beati*—"
 So dacht' auch ich. Oh, *tempi passati*!
 Freiheit freilich. Aber zum Schlimmen
 Führt der Masse sich selbst Bestimmen,
 Und das Klügste, das Beste, Bequemste,
 Das auch freien Seelen weitaus Genehmste
 Heisst doch schliesslich, ich hab's nicht Hehl:
 Festes Gesetz und fester Befehl."²²

ARTHUR L. DAVIS

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WINE RECKONINGS IN BODEL'S *JEU DE S. NICOLAS*

Schulze, Guesnon and Jeanroy have all tried to solve the reckonings of the tavern-keeper in the *Jeu de S. Nicolas*, but with results none too satisfactory even to themselves.¹ As Jeanroy says, these accounts are "volontairement boîteux, et c'est en cela précisément que doit consister le comique de la scène." If we are to share in this fun, however, it seems worth while attempting to discover just wherein these accounts do limp. Moreover, it appears from looking into them that Bodel is not only satirizing the mathematics of publicans, as Jeanroy suggests, but is also playing upon the Pathelinian theme of the cheater cheated, or, he robs best who robs last.

The first scene to involve a discussion of the host's wine-prices begins at line 251. *Li Tavreniers* offers his wine at the tariff of the town (258) and Auberon, the King's messenger, drinks *une pinte* (262). When Auberon comes to pay for his pint, he asks the price and is told that it costs a denier, but that if he will drink

²² *Gedichte*, 1, I, 33 f.

¹ Schulze, *ZRP.*, xxx (1906), 103 f.; Guesnon, *Moyen Age*, xii (1908), 75 f.; Jeanroy, ed. *CFMA.*, notes to lines 274-89, 680-4, 707.

another pint, he may have the second for a maille (i. e., half a denier), that is, the two pints for $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. Take your choice, says the host in effect, "pay a denier or drink again" (274-7).

Now it is clear from these lines that the host is reckoning his wine at one denier the pint (with a reduced rate for two pints)² and that, accordingly, when he adds "c'est a douze deniers sans faille" (276), he means that 12 pints of his wine are worth 12 deniers. But what is this measure of 12 pints? Jeanroy (note to l. 707) asks the question without answering it, and Guesnon, confusing the issue by assuming that the measure must contain 4 lots, confesses he does not know. The measure, however, is most probably that mentioned in line 1038, the *broc* (Picard, *broche*) which Cotgrave defines as "a steane, great flagon, tankard or pot; holding (most commonly) twelve Parisian pints."³

Auberon, in the scene just discussed, demurs at the host's price. He is willing to pay the maille at once and later, on his return, to drink another pint and pay the denier then. But the host does not trust him and demands at least "trois partis" forthwith in payment of the wine already drunk. Guesnon and Schulze correctly interpret these "trois partis" as equal to half of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., that is $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (or $1\frac{1}{2}$ mailles, the parti being worth $\frac{1}{2}$ maille). Jeanroy, misled by the reckoning of l. 680 f., somehow reached the conclusion that the parti was there equivalent to a demi-denier, but in this later reckoning, as in l. 817, the "trois partis" are still equivalent to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and, as we shall see, it is for quite another reason that the account of l. 680 f. is in error.

While Auberon is disputing with the host, Cliquet appears (290), eager for a little game of dice. Auberon and Cliquet shake for the drinks and the former wins, thereby shifting the burden of the debt to the latter. For the rest of the play it is Cliquet, a thief, who owes the "trois partis" for the messenger's drink. Cliquet

² Guesnon missed this point, unfortunately, and assumed that the price of "trois partis" was the normal price for a pint of wine, that four pints were equivalent to one lot, and that accordingly the host's later reckoning of 3 d. per lot ($4 \times \frac{3}{4}$ d.) was correct. But it is evident from the context that the host's normal rate was 1 pint = 1 denier and that the price of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to Auberon was a reduction of the normal tariff.

³ The *jalaye* also, according to Cotgrave, was a wine measure "containing 12 (French) Pintes," but since the *broc* is mentioned elsewhere in our text, it seems more likely to have been the vessel used.

remains at the inn and presently welcomes there a second thief, Pincédé, inviting his companion to drink and calling to the tavern-boy, Caignet, to draw the wine for them:

Bevons un denier, toute voie.

Saque nous demi lot, Caignet! (676-7)

Evidently, for Cliquet a demi lot of wine may be had for a denier. But, as we have seen above, the host's regular price for his wine was 1 d. a *pinte*. The demi lot ought therefore to be the equivalent of a pint. I think it was. Guesnon, however, assumed, as we have seen,⁴ that in this play a lot contained four pints; Schulze did not specify but believed the lot "ein ziemlich grosses Mass," whereas Jeanroy maintained that "nous ne savons pas quel rapport il y avait entre le lot et la pinte."

Some further evidence is available on the subject. Cotgrave states that the French or Parisian *pinte* is equal to about 27 English ounces, that the *lot* contains about as much as the English *pottle*, and that the *pottle* contains 64 ounces. A lot, therefore, by Cotgrave's day was equal to about 10 ounces more than two French or Parisian pints.⁵ This is, roughly, the relation between the lot and the pint indicated in the example cited by Godefroy (1 lot = 1 quart, or 2 pints; see note 4). It is also the equivalence known to La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, who says, s. v. *lot*, "un Artésien m'a dit qu'un lot, à Arras, étoit le double de la pinte dans le même lieu." It seems reasonable to assume therefore that in our play the demi lot was little, if any, more than the pint, and that the

⁴Guesnon perhaps relied upon Godefroy, who says, s. v. *lot*: "Dans l'Ile-de-France, la Picardie, l'Artois et la Flandre, le *lot* valait quatre pintes." But Godefroy gives us no proof for this statement, and it is well known that the measure varied from time to time and place to place. Indeed one of Godefroy's examples ("Dialog. fr.-flam., fo 2c, Michelant") states that "le pinte nomme on en aucun lieu chopine et le *lot* une quarte" (i. e. 2 pints) and it is this equivalence of 1 lot = 2 pints that I believe is revealed by our play. Godefroy's example is from *Le Livre des Mestiers*; cf. J. Gessler's ed., III, 8.

⁵These figures may be verified in Cotgrave's Dictionary s. v. *lot*, *pinte*, *pottle*, *quart*. According to the same authority (s. v. *pinte*), "La pinte de S. Dennis, et de plusieurs autres lieux à l'entour de Paris. Is halfe as big again as the ordinary one of Paris," but this measure does not seem to be involved in our play.

host's normal price for his wine was 1 d. a demi lot, even as Cliquet assumes, 2 d. a lot,⁶ and 12 d. a broc.

This, however, is *not* what the tavern-keeper proceeds to charge. He evidently knows Cliquet and his thieving companions. He also knows how to take advantage of their drunkenness. For the King's messenger he may be willing to reduce his prices slightly (2 pints for 1½ d.). But Cliquet and company are quite another matter. He cheats them roundly by charging them 3 d., sometimes 3¼ d., a lot for their wine (680, 753, 815), 2 d. for a demi-lot (753).

The first time that the new rate goes into effect, the host refrains from stating outright what he is charging (680 f.) :

Cliquet, tu devoies un lot
Et puis un denier de ton gieu,
Et trois partis pour le courlieu.
Che sont cinc deniers, poi s'en faut.

And Cliquet answers :

Cinc denier soient, ne m'en chaut.
Ainc ostes ne me trouva dur.

In other words, the host is here charging a levy of 1 d. on the game of dice, plus ¾ d. for the messenger's drink, and the rest of the "cinc deniers" (or "poi s'en faut") is the price of Cliquet's lot of wine—3¼ d.! Cliquet knows the count is false—though in his muddled condition he probably thinks it is only ¼ d. and not 1¼ d. too much—but he answers: "Let it be 5 d.; I don't care—no host ever found me hard on him."

The second time that a wine bill is mentioned (752-3),⁷ the lot is reckoned at 3 d. (this is the lot ordered in l. 736), and the demi lot is priced, still more exorbitantly, at 2 d. (this was ordered in l. 677 and was still unconsumed l. 716). Finally, the first reckoning

⁶ If the price were 1 d. a pint, and the lot were 10 ounces more than 2 French pints, it would still be reasonable to sell this wine at 2 d. the lot, since a slight reduction might be expected for the larger quantity. In *Courtois d'Arras*, which is roughly contemporaneous with our text, the wine is reckoned 6 d. the lot (l. 129), but the inn visited by Courtois is an exceptionally luxurious place (133-41).

⁷ I agree with Jeanroy (note to 752-3) that it would be appropriate to attribute this speech to Caignet. Incidentally, this bill of 752-3 is not mentioned again, apparently being charged to Pincédé and Rasoir (cf. 1332); but in the end Cliquet's coat pays for both wine accounts, as well as for a loan of 11 d. plus 1 d. tax (1333).

is repeated (815), this time with a direct charge of 3 d. for the first lot, though the full bill again involves a charge of 3¼ d.⁸

Now, the audience, knowing the host's original price to the King's messenger, must have greeted each new false reckoning to Cliquet and his friends with special amusement. Here, as in the dicing scene (891, 948-9) where the tavern-boy manages to abstract 3 d. for himself and thus leave the robbers only a depleted pool of 6 d. to divide between the three of them, some of the fun must surely have consisted in watching the thieves themselves being fleeced.

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THE SOURCES OF *FOUKE FITZ WARIN*

Few mediaeval literary productions are as difficult to classify as *Fouke Fitz Warin*.¹ While the hero, Fulk Fitz Warin III, was a fairly well known historical figure and the story contains a number of authentic events, the extensive notes of Thomas Wright amply demonstrate its unreliability as a source for the historian.² The author shows little or no grasp of accurate chronology, an ingenious imagination in respect to genealogy and proper names, and an ardent affection for romantic and even miraculous incident. On the other hand the historical content is large enough to force one to the conclusion that it is a compilation of legends rather than a work of pure imagination.

This raises a most interesting question—where did the author gather his material? Wright and Brandin assume that he wrote for a Fitz Warin.³ In that case he would undoubtedly have used the stories current in the family and household, and the work could be classified as a very unreliable family history. But on the basis of internal evidence this view seems unacceptable. While the date

⁸ I should punctuate 816, "Hé, voire?", assuming that Cliquet here raises a feeble, ironical protest; cf. 819 (se je voeil encore) and 1351 (Il [l'oste] a pis conté qu'il ne cuide) which, together with 684 and 698-9, show that the robbers were not unaware of being overcharged.

¹ *Fouke Fitz Warin* (ed. Louis Brandin, in *Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1930).

² *Fulk Fitz Warine* (ed. Thomas Wright, London, 1855).

³ Wright, pp. xiv-xv; Brandin, p. iv.

of composition cannot be established with absolute accuracy, Wright and Brandin agree that the existing prose version was written during the first two decades of the fourteenth century.⁴ This version was based on an earlier one in rime which was almost certainly composed before the end of the thirteenth century.⁵ If the work was written for a Fitz Warin, it was done under either Fulk IV or Fulk V who headed the house from about 1256 to 1264 and from 1264 to 1314 respectively.⁶ Now the author is ignorant of certain facts that must have been well known to these two barons and even to their retainers. Hence I have grave doubts that his work should be classed as a family history inspired by a descendant of the hero.

The most striking illustration of this ignorance is found in the account of the acquisition by Fulk III of the manor of Wantage in Berkshire. The author states that it was a grant from Hugh, the earl marshal.⁷ Brandin has pointed out that there had never been an earl marshal of that name.⁸ The office was held from 1246 to 1306 by two Roger Bigods, uncle and nephew. The author knew that the father of the elder of these Roger Bigods was named Hugh, and he assumed that he was the head of the house at the time Wantage was acquired by the Fitz Warins and that he was earl marshal. As a matter of fact, the grantor was William Marshal the younger who later succeeded his father as earl marshal and earl of Pembroke.⁹ In 1246 the death without issue of the last son of the great earl gave the marshal's office to Roger Bigod as the eldest son of the eldest daughter and hence senior co-heir. All this must have been well known to the Fitz Warins. Fulk IV almost certainly knew the last Marshal earls. The evidence is definite as to Fulk V. In 1284 he showed William Marshal's charter granting Wantage to Fulk III to the king's justices in answer to a writ of *quo warranto* and called to warrant Roger Bigod and his co-heirs.¹⁰ It seems inconceivable that the author could have made this error if he were writing in the household and for the ear of Fulk IV or Fulk V.

There is another mistake scarcely less decisive. Hawis de Dinan,

⁴ Wright, p. i; Brandin, pp. i-ii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵ Brandin, pp. vi-vii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95, under Hue.

⁹ *Placita de Quo Warranto (Record Commission)*, p. 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

wife of Fulk II, had a sister Sybil. The author apparently knew of the lady but had no idea whom she married. With his usual nonchalance in such matters he picked a name at random and joined her to Païen Fitz John.¹¹ As this gentleman preceded her father, Joyce de Dinan, as constable of Ludlow castle, this was a poor guess. Actually Sybil married Hugh de Plucknet.¹² As their heirs in the direct male line shared the Dinan inheritance, the manor of Chipping Lambourne in Berkshire, with the Fitz Warins as late as 1310, the latter must have been perfectly familiar with the name of Sybil's husband.¹³

No one who glances through Thomas Wright's notes can possibly believe that the author of *Fouke Fitz Warin* acquired any of his information from the hero, Fulk III. I believe that the evidence presented above indicates very strongly that he had no direct contact with Fulk IV or Fulk V. Thus one is forced to conclude that the legends he used were current in his native district, Shropshire. In short, if my view is correct, one may in the pages of *Fouke Fitz Warin* study the nature and accuracy of popular historical tradition in the late thirteenth century.

It is possible that another valuable inference may be drawn from the hypothesis that the author had no direct connection with the family of his subject. This trouvère did not in all probability work solely for his own amusement. If he had been writing for a Fitz Warin, the source of his expected reward would be clear, but, as it is, one is driven to assume that there existed some public demand for the story of Fulk III. This may furnish some indication of the rapidity with which a legendary hero could develop. Fulk's principal adventures took place in the first two decades of the thirteenth century and he died shortly after 1256. By the end of the century at latest, this essentially unimportant warrior had become a popular romantic figure.

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¹¹ Brandin, p. 29.

¹² Wright, p. 204.

¹³ *Book of Fees (Rolls Series)*, pp. 106, 842, 848; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem (Rolls Series)*, v, 173.

PORTUGUESE INTERVOCALIC *n*

The attention that has been paid to the development of intervocalic *n* in Portuguese has not led to any clear synthesis of the facts. It has been pointed out that intervocalic *n* sometimes falls and sometimes becomes *nh*; ¹ Nobiling ² describes the development of nasal diphthongs, and Huber ³ mentions in a note the restoration of *n* before dentals without pointing out that this *n* is restored after the second vowel instead of in the intervocalic position. The present paper is an attempt to treat all phases of the development of intervocalic *n* as an outgrowth of one original phenomenon, namely, the nasalization of the preceding vowel and the fall of *n*.

At an early date in Portuguese, medial *n* nasalized the preceding vowel and then fell. The nasal resonance of the vowel persisted and spread to the following vowel. Later, however, it generally disappeared from both vowels: *arēnam* > *arēa* > *areia*; *corōnam* > *corōa* > *corōa*; *monāchum* > *moago* > *mogo*; *tenēre* > *tēer* > *ter*. There are a large number of important exceptions to the last stage of this regular development and it has been found possible to divide them into the following five groups:

1. If both vowels were the same and if the first vowel was tonic, the nasal resonance remained and the vowels were contracted: *lanam* > *lāa* > *lā*; *bonum* > *bōo* > *bom*; *tenes* > *tēes* > *tens*. If both vowels were posttonic *e*'s the same changes developed: *ordīnes* > *ordēes* > *ordens*; but **sabānam* (for *sabānum*) *savaa* (old), and *diacōnum* > *diagoo* (old). The nasal resonance remained in *orfā* (from *orphānam*) through the influence of the masculine *orfāo* and perhaps also of *irmā*. Because final unaccented *o* was pronounced *u*, words like *ūnum* belong to this category: *ūnum* > *uno* > *ūu* > *um*; *jejūnum* (adj. used as noun) > *jejūu* > *jejum*. And because final unaccented *e* in hiatus with tonic *i* became *i*, words like *fines* likewise belong to this category: *fines* > *fūs* > *fins*.

¹ Reinhardstoettner, *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1878, pp. 62-63; J. J. Nunes, *Compêndio de Gramática Histórica Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1930, pp. 113-117; Jules Cornu, "Die portugiesische Sprache" in *Gröber's Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1888, I, 752-753.

² "Die Nasalvokale im Portugiesisch" in *Die neueren Sprachen*, XI (1903), § 16.

³ *Altportugiesisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1933, § 238.

2. If the first vowel was tonic in any of the pairs: *a-o*, *o-e*, *a-e*, the nasal resonance remained and the nasal diphthongs *ão*, *õe* and *ãe* were formed: *manum* > *mão*; *germanum* > *irmão*; *lectiōnes* > *lições*; *pōnes* > *pões*; *canes* > *cães*. In the case of the pair *a-o* the same changes developed when both vowels were posttonic: *orphānum* > *orfão*; *orgānum* > *orgão*; *raphānum* > *rabão*; *Stephānum* > *Estevão*.

3. If the first vowel was tonic *i* and the second vowel *a* or *o*, a palatalized nasal developed between the two vowels: *vinum* > *vio* > *vinho*; *vicinam* > *vizīa* > *vizinha*; *gallinam gallia* > *galinha*. Just as a palatalized nasal developed between tonic *i* and final *a*, a labialized nasal *m* might be expected to have developed between tonic *ū* and final *a*. This did not happen, e. g., *lūnam* > *lūa* > *lua*; **commūna* > *comūa* > *comua*; except in the case of *ūnam* > *ūa* > *uma*, where the nasal resonance had been sufficiently intensified to bring this about, by the analogical influence of the masculine *um* [ū].⁴

4. If the first vowel was pretonic and the second vowel was followed by a dental, an *n* [n] developed after the second vowel: **cinītia* > *cēiza* > *ciinza* > *cinza*; *divinitātem* > *diviindade* > *divindade*; **manutia* > *māuça* > *maunça*; *minūtias* > *mūças* > *miunças*; *tenētis* > *tēedes* > *tendes*; *poenitentiam* > *pendença* (old). After the dental element of *ç* [ts] and *z* [dz] disappeared, the [n] also fell in pronunciation, but the nasal resonance remained: *cinza* [sīza]. The presence of a dental after the second vowel did not always have the effect of producing an *n*: *monētam* > *moeda*; *vanitātem* > *vaidade*.

5. If the first vowel was pretonic and the second vowel was tonic *i* in hiatus with a following *a* or *o*, the nasal resonance spread to all three vowels. Later a palatalized nasal developed between the last two vowels (according to 3) and the nasal resonance disappeared from the pretonic vowel entirely: *litanīam* > *lidaīa* > *ladainha*; *venībam* (for *veniēbam*) > *venia* > *veīa* > *viinha* > *vinha*.

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⁴ See Leite de Vasconcellos, *Lições de Filologia portuguesa* (2d. ed.), Lisbon, 1926, p. 295.

SOME NOTES ON VOLANGE AND JANOT

In *Les Œuvres Libres* for March, 1932, M. Henri Lavedan published what is there styled a *variété inédite* entitled *Volange comédien de la foire*. This same account of Volange was published last year (1933) in sumptuous book form accompanied by the text of two plays in which this actor achieved his great fame, viz., *Les Battus paient l'amende* and *Janot chez le dégraisseur*. It was decidedly worth while to resurrect the most celebrated popular French actor of the eighteenth century through whose success Dorvigny's *Les Battus paient l'amende* became the most frequently performed popular play of the same period. Not only has M. Lavedan related the story of Volange in a most entertaining manner, but he has been at considerable pains to examine the available facts and to present them accurately. The following notes supplement a few points in his study and are not intended to detract in any way from the general excellence of his effort.

In discussing Volange's early life, M. Lavedan tells us that some biographers state that the actor's father was a notary, others that he was a porter (*portefaix*). M. Lavedan gives the preference to the latter profession on the ground that it better justifies the career which the son was later to follow. There is a brief biographical account,¹ unknown to M. Lavedan, which states that the father was a schoolmaster. No doubt M. Lavedan would rule out the schoolmaster along with the notary, even admitting that it would be possible to reason that the youth's conduct was a reaction to the restraint imposed in a family of somewhat higher station than that of a *portefaix*.

The success of *Les Battus* was of course in large part the result of the interpretation of the principal rôle by "l'unique et multiple Volange," as M. Lavedan calls him. The second of these qualifications refers to Volange's numerous resources as an actor. He was, however, *multiple* in another sense. He made a specialty of acting a number of rôles in the same play, and the success of some of these plays seems to have been due chiefly to the versatile talent that he displayed in these various characterizations. We have some half

¹ F. Métra, *Correspondance littéraire secrète*, x, 338.

dozen examples of plays in which Volange played from three to eight different parts.²

As was to be expected, the directors of the Variétés Amusantes did not fail to exploit to the fullest extent the *janotmanie*, as the popular enthusiasm for Volange and Janot was straightway termed, by keeping Volange before the public and by producing three *suites* to *Les Battus*. Two of these, *Janot chez le dégraisseur* (18 October 1779) and *Ça n'en est pas* (23 December 1779), were by Dorvigny, the author of *Les Battus*. The third, *Le Mariage de Janot* (14 August 1780), was by Guillemain. It was inevitable too that other popular theatres should seek their share of glory and profit by likewise offering Janot plays. The most successful of these was a parody of *Les Battus* entitled *Jeannette ou les Battus ne paient pas l'amende*, by Beaunoir.³ Others, of which very little is known, were three plays by Simonin, *Janot au salon ou le Proverbe* (1779), *Janot tout seul* (published 1801), *La Nuit de Janot* (1780), and the following by unknown authors, *Janot et Dodinet* (1780),⁴ *La Janomanie* (1779),⁵ *Janot enrôlé*, *Janot poète*.⁶

M. Lavedan calls attention to the numerous popular songs inspired by Volange and Janot.⁷ Others besides dramatists and song writers could not resist the temptation to make use of these names. So we find a criticism of the salon of 1779 by L. J. H. Lefébure published with the title *Janot au salon*. In 1783, the author of a satirical pamphlet sought to gain a wide reading public by entitling his diatribe *Requête de Volange, dit Jeannot, à monseigneur Hue, le garde des sceaux de France*.⁸ Such an attack upon

² In *On fait ce qu'on peut*, 1779, he played 8 rôles; in *Les fausses Consultations*, 1780, 4 rôles; in *Thalie, la Poire et les Pointus*, 1783, 5 rôles; in *Le Bienfait récompensé*, 1783, 3 rôles; in *La Fête de campagne*, 1784, 8 rôles; in *Mieux fait douceur que violence*, 1785, 3 rôles. Cp. L. H. Lecomte, *Les Variétés Amusantes*, 1908, pp. 28, 45, 55, 72, 89, 113.

³ Performed at the Grands Danseurs du Roi during the summer of 1780.

⁴ Mentioned by Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 1877-82, XII, 437.

⁵ *Idem.*, XII, 348; Métra, *op. cit.*, IX, 87.

⁶ The *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. de Soleinne* lists a manuscript of each of these last two plays under items 3066 and 3076 (Bibl. Nat., a. s. f. 9260, 9292). Two others plays in the same collection (3066), *Le Verrou ou Jeannot dupe de son amour* and *Les deux Jeannots*, cannot be assigned with certainty to this category.

⁷ Several examples of these songs are given in Métra, *op. cit.*, IX, 87, 352.

⁸ Cp. Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, XXII, 275, 289, 299.

a high official could not pass unanswered, and we find the reply in a *Lettre de monseigneur le garde des sceaux au sieur Volange*.⁹

When the enthusiasm for Janot had worn off, he was replaced on the stage by a group of popular characters, namely the Pointu family. This new interest was created by Beaunoir with his comedy *Jérôme Pointu* (Variétés Amusantes, 13 June 1781). The play was an enormous success and Volange was considered to be even more remarkable as Jérôme than he had been as Janot.¹⁰ He played in all six of the Pointu plays produced at the Variétés Amusantes, the last in 1784.

At the very end of the century another very popular character appeared upon the stage in the person of Jocrisse. His success was not comparable to that of Janot, but at least he figured in a longer series of plays. This series seems to have been started by Gouffé's *Les deux Jocrisses* in 1796, and to have ended with Saint-Hilaire and Edmond's *Jocrisse paria* in 1822.¹¹ Dorvigny, the creator of Janot, contributed two of the Jocrisse plays.

One could wish that M. Lavedan had made some mention of the rather long career that Janot has had as a popular figure. In this connection it is worth while to quote part of an interesting note appended to item 3239 of the Soleinne Catalogue apropos of Janot and Jocrisse: "Ces deux types étaient en France longtemps avant que Dorvigny songeât à les mettre en scène. Les noms de *Janot* et de *Jocrisse* ont toujours été synonymes de naïf et d'idiot. . . . Dans le *Pantagruel* de Rabelais, où le nom de *Janot* est employé déjà au figuré, *Janotus* de Bramardo débite sa fameuse harangue sur les cloches." It would no doubt be possible to find a good many examples of this type of Janot prior to Volange's incarnation of him. That Dorvigny was not the first to present this character in a play in the eighteenth century is indicated by the existence of a comedy in manuscript form, dated 1743, to which the title *Janot battu et marié* has been given.¹²

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⁹ Cp. *idem.*, XXIII, 8, 14.

¹⁰ Cp. Lecomte, *op. cit.*, 50; Métra, *op. cit.*, XII, 107.

¹¹ For a list of the Jocrisse plays, see Soleinne Catalogue, 3239. Cp. also N. Brazier, *Chroniques des petits théâtres de Paris*, 1883, II, 143.

¹² Listed in the Soleinne Catalogue under 3076 (Bibl. Nat., a. s. f. 9291).

L'ÉTÉ DE LA SAINT-MARTIN AND LE CONSENTEMENT
FORCÉ

In Meilhac and Halévy's delightful comedy, *l'Été de la Saint-Martin*, Adrienne, who has married the nephew of Briqueville without his uncle's consent, is introduced to her unsuspecting uncle-in-law as the niece of Madame Lebreton and tries to convince Briqueville that his willful nephew has not acted unwisely. So charming does Adrienne appear that Briqueville, desirous of keeping her with him always, surprises her with a proposal of marriage. His momentary disappointment and wrath, once he is informed of the real situation, are dispelled by Adrienne's impassioned plea for forgiveness and he is forced to admit that he should recognize as the wife of his nephew a young woman whom he himself was willing to marry.

Le Consentement forcé, a less well-known play of the 18th century dramatist, Guyot de Merville, is based on a plot very like that of *l'Été de la Saint-Martin*. Fearing that he has aroused his father's anger, Cléante takes his bride to the house of Lisimon, a family friend. The latter consents to intercede in the young couple's favor and proposes to introduce Clarice as his own niece in order that she may have the opportunity of winning Orgon's affection. And, like Adrienne, Clarice so delights Orgon that he wishes to marry her. She confesses to him that she has already married and without her "uncle's" consent. Will Orgon use his influence to obtain Lisimon's forgiveness? Orgon, still ignorant of the pretended relationship, promises to assist her, but Lisimon declares his unwillingness to forgive his "niece" unless Orgon forgives his son. When Clarice adds her entreaties to those of Lisimon, Orgon finds himself forced to relent and is thereupon informed that Lisimon's "niece" is none other than Cléante's wife.

Both comedies deal with the problem confronting the young man who has married without his guardian's consent. Since the guardian in each case refuses to see the bride, the same method of procedure is adopted, that of introducing her as the niece of a mutual friend so that she herself may obtain the affection of her husband's irate relative. Each heroine is so successful that not only does she unintentionally win admiration, but love and a proposal of marriage follow. In both comedies, the father, or uncle, is

finally forced to admit that the young couple deserves his forgiveness and his affection.

Guyot de Merville may well have furnished Meilhac and Halévy with the outline of their plot. Nevertheless it is not so much the identical situation of the two comedies which interests us as the differences in the presentation and development of that situation. A comparison of the two plays offers a tangible basis for determining some of the changes adopted during the course of the 19th century in matters of dramatic technique.

However romanesque the plot of *le Consentement forcé* may seem to us, its general outlines appear to be due to the personal experience of Guyot de Merville. His biographers repeat the following story:

Sans fortune et sans état il devint amoureux d'une demoiselle qui n'avoit d'autre mérite que sa beauté: vainement ses parens s'opposèrent à l'union qu'il vouloit contracter; sa persévérance, ses tendres sollicitations, son adresse à faire valoir les qualités de sa maîtresse, surmonterent leur résistance, et les forcèrent à consentir à un mariage qui fit son malheur. La comédie du Consentement Forcé est à peu de choses près un récit fidele de cette intrigue; le naturel charmant qui y regne est la preuve que l'auteur avoit éprouvé tous les sentimens qu'il prête à Cléante. Long-temps après ce mariage, lorsque, désabusé de l'illusion qui l'avoit égaré, l'auteur lisoit cette comédie qui inspire une gaieté si douce, il ne pouvoit retenir ses larmes: cette anecdote, rapportée par un de ses amis, montre qu'il sentoit, mais trop tard, l'étourderie qu'il avoit faite."¹

Guyot de Merville, as well as Meilhac and Halévy, perceived the dramatic values latent in this particular situation and the comedy which he produced was quite successful in its day. *Le Consentement forcé* was first given at the Comédie-Française in 1738 and thereafter, until 1836, was given 284 times.² The plays of few secondary authors enjoy theatrical existence for practically one hundred years. Why did Guyot de Merville's comedy fail to survive the romantic period of French literature when a comedy with a similar plot could be successfully presented some four decades later?³ The success of the 19th century comedy is probably due

¹ *Répertoire du Théâtre François*, Paris, 1818, XXI, 421-422.

² Joannidès, A., *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1920*, Paris, 1921, p. 50.

³ During the first eight years of its existence (1873-1880), there were 107 performances of *l'Été de la Saint-Martin*. The total number of performances until 1920 was 266 (Joannidès, *op. cit.*, p. 70). The play is still successfully given at the Comédie-Française.

to the fact that it is simpler,—according to our modern standards—more natural and more direct in its appeal than the 18th century comedy.

Each character in *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* is essential to the action of the play. In *le Consentement forcé*, there is the *suivante*, Toinette, whose presence certainly adds nothing to the advancement of the plot. It is unfortunate that Guyot de Merville, who was of course conforming to classical convention, did not have the courage or insight of Beaumarchais in this particular respect. The latter's Rosine (*le Barbier de Séville*) was one of the few young women to appear on the 18th century French stage unaccompanied by a *suivante* or *confidente*.⁴ The elimination of one character in *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* avoids unnecessary scenes.

A second difference is to be noted in the manner in which the authors prepare for the climax of the comedy—the proposal of marriage by the young man's guardian. Orgon has known Clarice for one, or possibly two hours. Adrienne has been living in Briqueville's home for two weeks so that the pleasure of daily association accounts quite naturally for the latter's interest in the young woman.

Meilhac and Halévy make a much more direct approach than Guyot de Merville to the introduction and conclusion of their comedy. The former authors waste no time, as Merville does, in narrating the plan which the hero and heroine are to follow. We are admitted immediately into the presence of Adrienne and Briqueville and are allowed to infer, from suggestions given here and there, what the real situation is. The *dénouement* of *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* is as straight-forward as its beginning. Once Briqueville has been informed of the real situation, Adrienne approaches him directly and pleads for his forgiveness in a scene both natural and dramatic. In *le Consentement forcé*, on the contrary, Orgon is tricked into giving his consent because he has agreed to forgive his son if Lisimon forgives his "niece," Clarice. As the spectator knows, Lisimon is prepared to carry out just this proposition since Clarice is not his niece but Orgon's daughter-in-

⁴ The elimination of the *suivante* was not an unprecedented innovation on the part of Beaumarchais. As early as 1741, for example, Saint-Foix conceived the idea of writing a comedy with only two characters, *Deucalion et Pirrha*.

law. The scene in the 19th century play is much more effective and less artificial because we are in suspense concerning Briqueville's ultimate decision whereas we witness the trick of Lisimon and Clarice and have no doubt about its outcome.

It is this particular incident which illustrates the essential superiority of the play of Meilhac and Halévy. In *le Consentement forcé* Orgon does not discover the truth of the situation until it is to the advantage of the lovers that he know it. Since there is no deviation in the line of action, the lovers always have the upper-hand. In *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* we have an almost complete reversal of fortune. There is a rising line of action favorable to the lovers until we reach the point where Briqueville learns the truth about the general situation. Here the line of action follows a sharp decline and, for the moment at any rate, the case of the lovers seems lost. The average 18th century suitor proceeded on his course without meeting any important reverses of fortune. Fréron was the first contemporary critic, so far as I have been able to discover, to point out this decided weakness in the plot-construction of 18th century comedy⁵ and Beaumarchais, of course, was the first writer of French comedy to demonstrate successfully in practice (*le Barbier de Séville*) the excellence of the falling line of action as a means of arousing and sustaining the interest of the spectator. A comparison of *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* with *le Consentement forcé* illustrates the manner in which Beaumarchais' innovation was adopted by 19th century writers.

In short, although the superior dramatic technique of successful 19th century dramatists cannot fail to evoke admiration, this comparison of *l'Été de la Saint-Martin* with *le Consentement forcé* would seem to indicate that the 19th century theater may well owe a greater debt to the 18th than is commonly suspected.

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⁵ Cf. his criticism of Palissot's *Tuteurs* in *l'Année littéraire*, 1754, VII, 272 f.

GOLDSMITH'S *LIFE OF BOLINGBROKE* AND THE
BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA

In a short introduction to Goldsmith's *Life of Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (1770) his latest editor, J. W. M. Gibbs, says that one of the two "leading authorities" on which Goldsmith relied for facts in writing the *Life* was the *Biographia Britannica*;¹ but neither in his introduction nor in his notes does Gibbs give any indication that he was aware of how extensive was Goldsmith's indebtedness to this work. The truth is that fully four-fifths of the *Life* was borrowed from this single source. Although Goldsmith made some significant additions, he was content for the most part to select passages from the text and notes of the article "Saint-John" in the *Biographia* and to put them together with few changes.

A typical illustration of Goldsmith's method is the following passage on Bolingbroke's education; it shows him amplifying his source and making fairly frequent changes in diction and construction but unmistakably following the corresponding passage in the *Biographia*:

Goldsmith's Life.

... as soon as it was fit to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christ Church College in Oxford. His genius and understanding were seen and admired in both these seminaries, but his love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, that he seemed content rather with the consciousness of his own great powers, than their exertion. However, his friends, and those who knew him most intimately, were thoroughly sensible of the extent of his mind; and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in active life.

Biographia Britannica.

... as soon as it became proper to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christ-Church-college in Oxford. His genius and understanding were seen and admired by his contemporaries in both these places; but the love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends designed him for publick business, and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in that way of an active life. With the graces of a handsome person, in whose aspect

¹ See *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1885-86), iv, 180.

Goldsmith's *Life*.

Nature seemed not less kind to him in her external embellishments than in adorning his mind. With the graces of a handsome person, and a face in which dignity was happily blended with sweetness, he had a manner of address that was very engaging. His vivacity was always awake, his apprehension was quick, his wit refined, and his memory amazing: his subtlety in thinking and reasoning was profound; and all these talents were adorned with an elocution that was irresistible.²

Goldsmith did not limit his borrowings merely to the exposition in the *Biographia*; as is clear from the following passage on Bolingbroke's settlement at Dawley after his return from exile, he also used the source material brought together in the article:

Goldsmith's *Life*.

. . . he accordingly pitched upon a seat of Lord Tankerville's, at Dawley, near Uxbridge in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and laid himself out to enjoy the rural pleasures in perfection, since the more glorious ones of ambition were denied him. With this resolution he began to improve his new purchase in a very peculiar style, giving it all the air of a country farm, and adorning even his hall with all the implements of husbandry. We have a sketch of his way of living in this retreat in a letter of Pope to Swift, who omits no opportunity of representing his lordship in the most amiable point of view. This letter is dated from Dawley, the country farm above mentioned, and begins thus. . . .

Biographia Britannica.

dignity was happily tempered with sweetness, he had a manner and address that was irresistibly engaging; a sparkling vivacity, a quick apprehension, a piercing wit, were united to a prodigious strength of memory, a peculiar subtlety of thinking and reasoning, and a masterly elocution. . . .³

Biographia Britannica.

. . . he pitched upon a seat of Lord Tankerville's, at Dawley near Uxbridge in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and indulged the pleasure of gratifying the politeness of his taste, by improving it into a most elegant villa, finely picturesque of the present state of his fortune, and there amused himself with rural employments.

We have a sketch of his Lordship's way of life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr Swift by Mr Pope, who omits no opportunity of representing his Lordship in the most amiable colours. This letter is dated at Dawley June 8, 1728, and begins thus . . . So far Mr Pope; to which I will take leave to add, from ocular testimony, that it was painted accordingly; and, what still makes it more striking,

² *Works*, iv, 183.

³ *Biographia Britannica: or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, v (London, 1760), 3560.

Goldsmith's Life.

What Pope here says of his engagements with a painter, was shortly after executed; the hall was painted accordingly in black crayons only, so that at first view it brought to mind the figures often seen scratched with charcoal, or the smoke of a candle, upon the kitchen walls of farmhouses. The whole, however, produced a most striking effect, and over the door at the entrance into it was this motto: *Satis beatus rursi honoribus*. His lordship seemed to be extremely happy in his pursuit of moral tranquillity, and, in the exultation of his heart, could not fail of communicating his satisfactions to his friend Swift. "I am in my own farm," says he, "and here I shoot strong and tenacious roots: I have caught hold of the earth (to use a gardener's phrase), and neither my enemies nor my friends will find it an easy matter to transplant me again."⁴

Biographia Britannica.

the whole is executed in black crayons only: so that one cannot avoid calling to mind, on viewing it, the figures so often seen scratched with charcoal upon the kitchen-walls of farm-houses. And, to heighten the same taste, we read over the door, at the entrance into it, this motto: *Satis beatus rursi honoribus*. In the same humour, likewise, his Lordship writes to Dr Swift. 'I am in my farm, and here I shoot strong and tenacious roots; I have caught hold of the earth, to use a Gardener's phrase, and neither my enemies nor my friends will find it an easy matter to transplant me again.'⁵

This passage from Goldsmith is typical of a large part of the *Life*. All of the source material which he uses, including the extensive passages quoted or paraphrased from Bolingbroke's own works, was ready at hand in the *Biographia*.⁶

In writing the *Life*, however, Goldsmith did something more

⁴ *Works*, IV, 211-12. The omitted quotation from Pope is the same in both texts.

⁵ *Biographia Britannica*, v, 3575 and 3575-76, n. BB.

⁶ Gibbs says that Goldsmith's other principal authority was "the anonymous *Life of Bolingbroke*, published in 1752"—i. e., *Memoirs of the life and ministerial conduct, with some free remarks on the political writings, of the late Lord Visc. Bolingbroke* (London, 1752), now ascribed to David Mallet—; but that Goldsmith went directly to the *Memoirs* I think very improbable. All of the passages in the *Life* which seem to come from the *Memoirs* had already been included in the article in the *Biographia*; and in every case where Goldsmith used material from the *Memoirs* which had been paraphrased in the *Biographia*, he is closer to the paraphrase than to the original.

than merely put the material he borrowed from the text and notes of the *Biographia* into literary form. He added at least one of his characteristic ideas,⁷ but probably his most original contributions were rather frequent reflections on Bolingbroke's character and analyses of his motives, usually only a sentence or two in length, though sometimes more extended, as in the first two and the last two paragraphs of the *Life*. He also added a number of factual details relating to Bolingbroke's life which are not in the *Biographia* or in any of the other earlier lives of Bolingbroke known to me.⁸

The following are the most important of these factual additions:

- (1) The account of Bolingbroke's keeping Miss Gumley and of his drunkenness (*Works*, iv, 184).
- (2) His authorship of verses prefixed to *Le chef d'œuvre d'un inconnu* and of "two or three things more . . . which have appeared since his death" (pp. 184-85).
- (3) His trouble with his first wife (p. 185; see also p. 210).
- (4) Some of the details of the difficulties with which he was faced when he came into office (pp. 188-89).
- (5) Some of the details of his quarrel with Oxford (pp. 190-91).
- (6) The arrival of George I and his treatment of Oxford (p. 191).
- (7) The statement that the Duke of Marlborough "planted his creatures" around Bolingbroke and that an impeachment was being prepared against him (p. 193).
- (8) Bolingbroke's work on the *Craftsman* (pp. 213-14).

⁷ See *Works*, iv, 183: "This period might have been compared to that of fermentation in liquors, which grow muddy before they brighten; but it must also be confessed, that those liquors which never ferment are seldom clear." For other uses of this same figure see *New Essays* by Oliver Goldsmith, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago, 1927), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

⁸ In addition to the *Memoirs* (1752) already mentioned, I have examined the following lives: *The Life and History of the Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (London, 1754); *Memoires Secrets de Mylord Bolingbroke Ecrits par lui-même adressés au Chevalier Windham, précédés d'un discours préliminaire sur la vie de l'auteur* (Londres, 1754); "The life of Henry Saint-John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke," *Universal Magazine*, xxvi (1760), 190-94 (April), 254-58 (May), 290-95 (June): drawn from the *Biographia Britannica* but much more abridged than Goldsmith's *Life*; "The life of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke," *Universal Museum, and Complete Magazine*, ii (1766), 495-97 (October), 559-63 (November): also drawn from the *Biographia Britannica* but very much more abridged than Goldsmith's account.

(9) Facts of his last illness: his cancer and his treatment of the clergy (p. 219).

(10) A new line, "He passed the latter part of his time at home," which is added to his epitaph (p. 220).

(11) The date of his death as 12 December (p. 220).⁹

These additions are, however, all short. Almost all of them consist of only a sentence or two; and they form relatively a very small part of the *Life*.

These factual additions, most of which occur in the early part of the *Life*, suggest that Goldsmith started out to make it a more or less original piece of work, comparable to the other lives he had written. As it turned out, however, it is little more than a piece of hack-writing in which his contributions are almost lost sight of in the large amount of material that he borrowed.

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THE DATE OF BURKE'S *SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL*

I should like to contribute what may be the final item in the dating of the first publication of Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, for which the date 1756 has had a curious persistence. In *Notes and Queries* for January 31, 1925,¹ Dr. Frederick A. Pottle assembled seven items of evidence for the date 1757, including negative testimony from the lists of books in the magazines of 1756, and positive in the appearance of the title in the 'List of New Books' in the *Literary Magazine* for April 15-May 15, 1757, and in its first reviews in the *Monthly Review* for May, 1757, in the *Critical Review* for April, 1757, and the *Literary Magazine* for April 15-May 15, 1757. Mr. Edward Bensly later called attention² to Mr. Ralph Straus' use of the date April, 1757, in his account of Burke's

⁹ The *Memoires Secrets* gives the date as 25 November; all of the other early lives give 15 November; the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine* for December, 1751, give 15 December.

¹ CXLVIII, 80.

² *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 21, 1925, CXLVIII, 140.

dealings with Dodsley.³ What has been lacking to us is the advertisement in a newspaper of the particular day of publication, the evidence Mr. Straus may have had.

There is such an advertisement. The *London Chronicle*, in the issue of April 14-16, 1757,⁴ carries the item

In a few Days will be publish'd

Elegantly printed in a small Volume 8vo, Price bound 3s.

A PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY into the Origin of our Ideas of the SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL.

Printed for J. and R. Dodsley in Pallmall.

And in the second issue after that, April 19-21, 1757,⁵ appears: "*This Day was publish'd,*" etc. This announcement is repeated in the next two issues,⁶ the first of which lists the title under 'New Books Published this Week.'⁷ The *London Chronicle's* review of the *Sublime and Beautiful* begins with June 9-11 and continues intermittently until July 14-16.⁸

Incidentally, the second edition of the *Sublime and Beautiful*, that to which Burke prefixed his *Discourse on Taste*, was thus noticed in the *London Chronicle* of January 6-9, 1759:⁹

This Day was published,

Elegantly printed in One Volume Octavo, Price 4s. 6d.

bound, the Second Edition, with an Introductory

Discourse on TASTE, and several other Additions, of

A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful. Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pallmall.

This item had not appeared before that date; it is once repeated in the issue of January 11-13.¹⁰

It remains that Mr. Theodore Prince has seen a copy of the first edition of the *Sublime and Beautiful* dated 1756.¹¹ By what acci-

³ Robert Dodsley, London, Lane, 1910, p. 255.

⁴ No. 46, 368.

⁵ No. 48, 384.

⁶ No. 49 (April 21-23), 392; No. 50, 400.

⁷ No. 49, 391.

⁸ No. 70 (June 9-11), 556-558; No. 73 (June 16-18), 580-581; No. 75 (June 21-23), 595-596; No. 82 (July 7-9), 26-27; No. 85 (July 14-16), 50-53.

⁹ No. 317, 32.

¹⁰ No. 319, 47.

¹¹ *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 21, 1925, CXLVIII, 140.

dent of printing some copy or copies carry that date can only be speculated. It would seem amply proved that the book was not ready for sale until April 21, 1757.

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DEFOE ON MILTON

In volume VIII of Defoe's *Review* there are two previously unnoted Milton references.¹ The first, a single paragraph which appeared in the *Review* for August 18, 1711 (VIII, no. 63), provides further support for Professor Havens' statement, "There can . . . be no question that from the beginning of the century [the eighteenth] Milton's greatness was recognized by all."² The *Review* for March 29, 1712 (VIII, no. 159) is entirely devoted to Milton and the theological problem, "Whether Adam knew his Wife Eve before the Fall?" Defoe notes that Addison's *Spectator* essays have led him to write the paper "to introduce a Critical Observation which I have long since made, on the famous Mr. Milton."

I quote fully the first of these references, which occurs as an illustration in an essay on dullness.

The Famous Mr. Milton wrote two Poems, *Paradise lost*, and *Paradise regain'd*, which tho' form'd in the same Mould, the Work of the same bright Genius, yet have met with a most differing Reception in the World; the first passes with a general Reputation for the greatest, best, and most sublime Work now in the *English Tongue*, and it would be to lessen a Man's own Reputation to say any Thing less of it—The other is call'd a Dull Thing, infinitely short of the former, nothing to compare with it, and not like the same Author, and this is the Universal Opinion of the

¹ Professor R. D. Havens has already pointed out in *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, 1922, pp. 15 and 101-102, that Defoe in the *Review* had by 1706 imitated Milton's blank verse three times, and in one *Review* (III, no. 104, August 31, 1706) wrote: "All the regulated Life of a just and pious Man is Musick in the Eye of the Observer; the Eloquence of the Orator, the Lines of the Poet make Musick in the Soul; who can read *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Milton*, *Waller*, or *Rochester*, without touching the Strings of his Soul, and finding a Unison of the most charming Influence there?"

² *Op. cit.*, p. 22. The evidence for this statement is to be found in two articles by Professor Havens in *Englische Studien*, XL, 175-199, "Seventeenth Century Notices of Milton" and "The Early Reputation of *Paradise Lost*."

Age about these two Books: Mr. *Milton* was told this by several, for it was the Opinion then as well as now, and his Answer was this—Well, I see the Reason plainly, why this Book is not liked so well as the other, for I am sure it is the better Poem of the two, but People have not the same Gust of Pleasure at the regaining Paradise, as they have Concern at the loss of it, and therefore they do not relish this so well as they did the other, tho' it be without Comparison the best Performance.

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A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GULLIVER

To the list of works which may have influenced *Gulliver's Travels* should be added a little-known periodical *The Weekly Comedy, As it is Dayly Acted at most Coffee-Houses in London*, the first number of which came out 10 May, 1699.¹ It made use of a club-like gathering of twelve men who told stories to one another while sitting in a coffee-house. The narrative of Scribble, a newswriter, tells of the recent discovery of a fertile, pleasant island, forty-three leagues from Ireland.

Scrib. The Natives, I am inform'd, are such a Diminutive race of *Tom-Thumb*s, that the Discoverers first took 'em to be Children, till they came near enough the little Mortals to discern their Beards; none of them exceeding the hight of a large *Coffee-Pot*; and yet, as 'tis said, are such Little, Brisk, Nimble, hot Mettled Fellows, that they no more fear a Man of twice their Bigness, than a Knight Errant does a Monster, or a little Woman a huge Bed-fellow.

... [T]heir *Sheep* are no bigger than *English Rabbits*, but very delicious Food: Their Wooll being Cole Black, and their Horns as white, as Ivory. Their *Cows* are all Milk White, with Nut Brown Tailles; and are so very Large, that their Dairy-Maids are forc'd to stand bolt upright upon a Buffet-stool to Milk 'em. Their *Horses* are shap'd like our *Grey-Hounds*, but as Tall as *Asses*, their Bodies of a dun colour, with a White List down their Backs, but their Mains and Tails are finely Dappled, every single Hair being of divers Colours. Their *Mastiff-Dogs* are no bigger than *Guinea Piggs*; and yet, like the People, are of that Courage, they will Fight the Devil.

¹ The only advertisements in *The Weekly Comedy* are those for the *London Spy*; the style of the written material resembles Ned Ward's; and some of the material was included in the two-volume edition of Ward's works (1706). There can be little doubt about the authorship.

... I will give you the Opinion of some Learned Geographers and Mathematicians concerning it, which is this, *viz.* They do suppose, by the Littleness of the People, that this Land was formerly a *Peninsula*, Joy'n'd by a slender *Isthmos*, to some part of *Prester-John's* Country; but in the late dreadful Earthquake, when the whole Universe was affected with so Violent a Shock, the Neck of Land was broke; and this Island being Consequently disjoyn'd from the Continent, has ever since floated up and down upon the Seas. . . .

... The *John of Leith* in *Scotland*, burthen 159 Tun, *Sanders Mac Doel* Master, Bound to *Gold-Island* in *America*, Laden with Commodities befitting the Trade of that Country, upon the 11th of *March* last, set Sail from the Port of *Leith*. The first day she had fine Weather, but met with a Storm the second, and was tumbled about the Ocean till the Sixth; . . . and [they] having repair'd her Damage, . . . found themselves by their Observation, in Lat. of 57 deg. North; where, on a suddain, they were be-Calm'd, and Surrounded with so thick a Fog that they were almost Stifled: The Commander order'd one of his Crew to the Main-Top, to see if the Mist was as much condens'd Aloft; the Sailer as he was crawling up the Buttock Shrouds, heard the Looing of a Cow, which he told to the Commander, who at first gave no Credit to so improbable a story: But going up the Shrouds to satisfie himself, heard it very plain: Being thro'ly Convinced of what his Man inform'd him, to his great Terrour And amazement, believing his Compass had faild him, and he had unhappily fallen upon some part of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, he presently Commanded a Gun to be fir'd, hoping it might occasion some Boat to come off from Shore, that might Pilot them into a safe Harbour till the Fog was over: But upon firing the Gun, it immediatly clear'd up; and the Master, to his great Surprise, found himself Close up with Land: Upon which he cast the Lead, and found himself in but 7 Fathom Water: whereupon he let go his best Bower, and sent his Boat, with his Mate and Six Men on Shore, to inform themselves what Land it was. Where they no sooner Landed, but were attack'd with a great Number of little Men, about 3 foot High, Arm'd with Bows and Arrows, which they first took to be Children, till they saluted them with a flight of their Steell Weapons, Kill'd one of the Boats Crew, Wounded the Mate and 3 more. Upon which they immediatly retir'd; and with much difficulty escap'd to their Boats. This news being brought on board, the Master Man'd his Boat with 25 of his ablest Hands, well fitted with Arms and Amunition, resolving to be further satisfied in what his Mate reported: Accordingly Lands in another part of the Island, where, at the foot of a Hill, they discover'd a stately Edifice, beautified with lovely Groves, delightful Meads, and pleasant Brooks; wanting no Improvements of either Art or Nature. They advancing forward, to take a compleat Survey of this inviting Structure, found it by its Strength and Fortification, to be a stately Castle: From whence, on a suddain, Sally'd out upon the Captain & his Crew, a mighty Gyant, Twelve Foot high, King of the Country, attended with some Hundreds of his Little Subjects, who (unacquainted with the use of Fire-Arms) ran rashly on without Fear or

Wit; and the Seamen firing upon them, Kill'd the Gyant the first Volley, with abundance of his Pygmy Soldiers; which the Seamen pick'd up like Pidgeons, and put into their Snap-Sacks, taking some Prisoners, putting the rest to Flight; then entering the Castle, found it Richly furnish'd with all Necessaries, which they Plunder'd of its best Ornaments that were light of Carriage; and so return'd to their Boat, bringing along with them the Gyants Dead Body, and their Prisoners; and retracting their intended Voyage, return'd to *Scotland*, where they made manifest their Discovery, sending the Gyants Dead Body and the Living Prisoners to *Edenbrough* Castle.

The original, it will be seen, is vague and poor in detail, never rising above the level of Grub-Street writing. Its carelessness is shown in the inconsistency in the size of the pigmies: at one time they are about fifteen inches tall, at another, three feet. Swift certainly did not copy *The Weekly Comedy*; he may, however, have taken his idea from it, making use of the following suggestions: an island originally connected with Prester John's country, the race of pigmies who greet a visitor with a flight of arrows, and the curiosities brought back by the traveler (cf. Gulliver's animals from Lilliput exhibited on the Bowling-Green at Greenwich).

An interesting feature is the date of Gulliver's first departure from Bristol, 4 May, 1699. This is almost the exact date of *The Weekly Comedy*. If the sixteen hundred odd weeks of Swift's career as a writer be added to the number of weeks in England's previous maritime history, it will be seen that the chance of picking that particular date was one in ten thousand. On the other hand, if the date be not the result of a chance-shot, three possibilities present themselves. First, Swift may have begun *Gulliver's Travels* soon after reading *The Weekly Comedy*; second, he may have made a note which he used later; or third, Swift's impression of the odd journey in *The Weekly Comedy* may have been such that in developing his own story years later, the month and year of the original came spontaneously to his mind through subconscious association of ideas.

The several details both pieces have in common and the suggestion implied by the proximation of dates indicate that *The Weekly Comedy* may have functioned as a catalyst in the presence of which Swift's imagination gave forth the material for *Gulliver's Travels*.

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WASHINGTON IRVING, THE FOSTERS, AND THE FORSTERS

When Washington Irving left Dresden in the summer of 1823 in company with Mrs. John Foster and her two daughters, Emily and Flora, he was *en route* to Paris while his friends were returning to their home in Bedford, England. The *Journals of Washington Irving*¹ clearly indicate the intimate friendship and constant association with this English family that Irving enjoyed during his residence in the gay Saxon capital, but many references in the Paris Journals to the Fosters are actually to the family of another Englishman, Edward Forster. This confusion² of two different families was caused in many places by Irving's carelessness in spelling and sometimes by the editors' inability to distinguish between the names of Foster and Forster in transcribing the *Journals*. The occasions when Irving was actually with the Fosters are too easily established to leave any doubt or uncertainty. After the Fosters returned to England from Dresden, Irving visited them at their home at Brickhill near Bedford in July, 1824, and wrote from there:

I arrived here from town last night on a visit to my kind Dresden friends, the Fosters, who have welcomed me as to my own home. I shall stay here seven or eight days at least.³

In the spring of 1832, while Irving was chargé d'affaires at London, he saw the Fosters for the last time.⁴ Ten years later, though again in England, Irving did not make an effort to communicate with his old friends. Yet Mr. Hellman in his biography⁵ says:

¹ Edited by William P. Trent and George S. Hellman, Bibliophile Society, Boston, 1919; *Journal of Washington Irving (1823-1824)* edited by Stanley T. Williams, Harvard University Press, 1931.

² Professor Williams suggested in a footnote that there must be two separate families, *Journal (1823-1824)*, 62.

³ Pierre M. Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, New York, 1864, II, 202. Irving actually stayed nine days, *Journal (1823-1824)*, 219-227.

⁴ This is corroborated by the following entry of Emily Foster: "He [Irving] afterward came to see us at our home in Bedfordshire;—Then again I met him in London some years later" (*Life and Letters*, IV, 386-387; cf. also IV, 377 and 405).

⁵ George S. Hellman, *Washington Irving Esquire*, New York, 1925, 172.

His [Irving's] diaries show that he met in Paris in 1825⁶ both Mrs. Foster and Emily and that, a little later, he wrote Emily a letter which took him two or three days to perfect.

In the Trent-Hellman edition of the *Journals* there are the following entries:

Wednesday, November 3d, 1824.—Called at Mrs. Foster's—saw Miss F. and an English Lady, etc.—⁷

Friday, 5th.—Wrote Mrs. Foster—dispatched letter with one to Newton, to Miller and to Mrs. Van Wart—⁸

If Mrs. John Foster of Bedford and her daughter Emily had been in Paris at this time there would not be one isolated item but numerous entries with detailed information about the happy reunion of old friends. Actually a photostatic copy of the entry of November 3d reads: "Called at Mr. Forsters."⁹ The second entry, noting the dispatch of a letter to Mrs. Foster "with one to Newton, to Miller and to Mrs. Van Wart," all of whom are known to have been in England at this time, is further proof that these are references to two different families. A reply from Mrs. Foster is recorded¹⁰ by Irving on January 30, 1825.

To establish the identity of the Forster family with whom Irving first became acquainted through Thomas Moore it is useful to consult the *Memoirs* of the Irish poet during his residence in Paris. On December 21, 1820, Moore made the following entry:

Dined with McKay at the table d'hôte at Meurice's, for the purpose of being made known to Washington Irving, the author of the work which

⁶ 1825 is an error as the next entries show. In August 1825 there are a few entries of meeting Foster but not Mrs. Foster or Emily. In these cases Irving's carelessness in spelling is at fault.

⁷ II, 51.

⁸ II, 54.

⁹ Irving did write a little later of being with a man named Foster. These entries are brief: "Foster arrives from England," "dined at home—Newton and Foster," II, 147; "walked with Newton to Foster's," "dine at Hotel de la Reservoir with Foster and Newton," II, 149; "met Foster on the boulevard," II, 150. This is due to Irving's carelessness. The name Foster, more familiar to him than the name Forster, because of his longer association with the family of John Foster, occurs on these same pages in connection with correspondence from or to England.

¹⁰ *Journals*, II, 85. Further correspondence is indicated 139, 147, 150. This last item consists of the three entries to which Mr. Hellman refers: "Aug. 26th. Write to Emily Foster; Aug. 28th. rewrote letter to E. F.; Monday 29th.—Sent letter to E. Foster."

has lately had success, the "Sketch Book"; a good looking and intelligent-mannered man.¹¹

Thus began an interesting friendship between the two writers. Moore recorded over twenty meetings before Irving departed for England, July 11, 1821. Washington Irving referred to his constant association with Moore in a letter to Brevoort¹² on March 10, 1821:

I have become very intimate with Anacreon Moore, who is living here with his family. Scarce a day passes without our seeing each other, *and he has made me acquainted with many of his friends here.* [Italics mine.]

Among these friends were the Forsters,¹³ whose acquaintance Irving made at this time and whom he saw again when he returned to Paris in 1823. Who then were these Forsters?

Edward Forster (1769-1828), son of Nathaniel Forster, a writer on political economy, became a clergyman after studying medicine and law at Oxford. In 1799 he married his second wife, Lavinia, who was the only daughter of Thomas Banks, a famous British sculptor of that time. Forster entered into engagements with booksellers and published a series of finely printed editions of standard authors. These included an edition of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*, a new translation of the *Arabian Nights* in four volumes, various dramatic authors under the titles of *British Drama*, *New British Theatre*, *English Drama*, a quarto edition of *Rasselas*, and a series of prints entitled "The British Gallery of Engravings." In the year 1803, Mr. Forster published a beautiful edition of *Anacreon* with title plates and vignettes from the pencil of Mrs.

¹¹ *Memoirs, Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, edited by Lord John Russell, London, 1853, III, 182.

¹² *Life and Letters*, II, 37.

¹³ Moore made the following entries in his *Memoirs*, III, 196, 199, 211, 213: Feb. 3, 1821: Had company at home: the Villamils, Washington Irving, Forster, and Story. Feb. 13th: Dined at the Forsters', a family party, and took a lesson in quadrilles from the girls in the evening. Have determined to send Anastasia to Mrs. Forster's whose usual price for girls is 100 guineas a year, but who has expressed a readiness to take her upon more moderate terms. March 19th: Bessy in low spirits at parting with our dear Anastasia, who goes today to Mrs. Forster's. Irving called near dinner time; asked him to stay. . . . March 26th: Our company Mrs. Story and cousins, Mrs. Forster, her two daughters, and Miss Bridgeman, the Villamils, Irving, . . . etc.

Forster.¹⁴ In 1805 he entered into a correspondence with Sir Walter Scott¹⁵ for the publication of the works of Dryden.

At the time of the return of the Bourbons to the throne of France, Mr. Forster removed with his family to Paris, wishing to procure for his children the advantages, which a residence on the continent alone could afford, and also to recruit, in some measure, his exhausted finances. He began preaching at the Protestant Church of the Oratoire and in 1818 through the influence of Mr. Canning was appointed Chaplain to the British Embassy, a position that he retained until his death ten years later.¹⁶

The friendship with such a cultured and well educated family must have given Irving real pleasure and he was probably delighted to resume this intercourse when he returned to Paris. Thomas Moore was no longer there but Irving sought out the friends of his earlier Paris stay as the following entries in the *Journal* (1823-24) show. The confusion of names is abundantly clear when we see how Irving sometimes wrote Forster and then again Foster, though very definitely referring to the family of Edward Forster:

Nov. 1, 1823. Met Lord Granard and Lady Adelaide Forbes—latter speaks about letter she had written to Moore—Mrs. Foster, wife of Chaplain to Embassy and daughter—

Nov. 17, receive letter from Mrs. Foster¹⁷—card from Mr. Foster.

Dec. 9, Invitation to Mrs. Forsters for Friday evening—

Dec. 10, Note from Mad. Bonet to whom I sent 7 Napoleons to buy embroidered handkerchiefs for Mrs. Forster.

Jan. 12, 1824. Call at Mad. Bonets and get handkerchiefs for Mrs. Foster.

Jan. 14, Dine at Mr. Forsters—Chaplain to Embassy—at dinner Lord Earley. Dr. Thurlow, nephew of the Chancellor —, Dr. —, Miss Polke, the two Miss Bridgemans etc. besides the 2 Miss Forsters.

March 29, Went to a concert at Mr. Forsters.

¹⁴ That this is the same Forster family Irving met is borne out by Moore's entry in his *Memoirs*, III, 176: Dec. 4, 1820. "Find that the pretty vignettes in Forster's edition of *Anacreon* are from Mrs. Forster's drawings."

¹⁵ This too must have interested Irving, who knew Scott, and had been fascinated by his personal contact with him.

¹⁶ *Sermons preached at the Chapel of the British Embassy and at the Protestant Church of the Oratoire in Paris by Edward Forster, with a Short Account of his Life.* Edited by Lavinia Forster. Paris, 1828; I, i-xx. (The only copy known to me is in the British Museum.)

¹⁷ This is Emily's mother but "the card" is surely a return call from Mr. Forster.

Irving saw Mr. Forster again in London¹⁸ but did not meet John Foster of Bedfordshire until his arrival there on July 6.¹⁹

The fate of one of Irving's manuscripts throws still further light upon this confusion of the Forsters and Fosters. In his introduction to *Abu Hassan*, which Irving translated from the German, Mr. Hellman says:

... and in a journal entry of Sept 6, 1824, we find that Irving sent the manuscript to his friend Colonel Livius who at that time was in Paris, where Irving still resided. The entry is of special interest inasmuch as the manuscript now before us contains a slip of paper on which is written: "This was given to Henry by C. S. Forster. C. S. F. understood from Captain J. B. Livius that the manuscript is the writing of Washington Irving.—M. H. F." We surmise, though we have not definitely established the fact, that "Henry" and "M. H. F." were members of the Fuller family into which Emily had married, although this leaves us in some doubt as to the misspelling of her maiden name, Forster instead of Foster.²⁰

This is the identical Forster family of Paris that has been discussed above and not the family of John Foster so intimately associated with Washington Irving's residence in Dresden. No doubt Livius, whom Moore had known in Paris²¹ in 1820, and whose name occurs so frequently in Irving's Dresden and Paris diaries²² also knew the Forsters intimately. That any member of the Foster family would err in spelling so simple a name is difficult enough to believe, but that the name Forster has made its appearance in this manner is untenable in the light of the evidence cited above.

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¹⁸ May 29, dined with Newton—Mr. Foster came in and sat part of the evening.

¹⁹ Cf. footnote 3.

²⁰ *Abu Hassan* by Washington Irving, with an introduction by George S. Hellman, The Bibliophile Society, Boston, 1924, 14.

²¹ *Memoirs*, III, 113, "I went to a concert given by Livius."

²² Livius had returned to Paris by March 22, 1823 and Irving saw much of him. Cf. entries *Journal* (1823-1824), 152, 154, 156, 161, 164, 166, 172, 174, 178, 187; also *Journals*, II, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26 et al.

TWO NOTES ON *EPIPSYCHIDION*

I.

Mary Shelley's later distaste for Emilia Viviani and the poem which she inspired, *Epipsychidion*, are demonstrated both by Mary's correspondence and by her complete silence about the poem in her published notes. It is therefore worth noticing that on October 5, 1822 (at Genoa, four months after Shelley's death), she wrote in her Journal:¹

Oh, my child! what is your fate to be? You alone reach me; you are the only claim that links me to time; but for you I should be free. And yet I cannot be destined to live long! Well, I shall commence my task, commemorate the virtues of the only creature worth loving or living for, and then, may be, I may join him. Moonshine may be united to her planet, and wander no more, a sad reflection of all she loved on earth.

By the last sentence Mary seems to recall that in *Epipsychidion* Shelley represents himself as the Earth and Mary as the Moon,² and, referring to the "storms [which] then shook the ocean of my sleep, Blotting that Moon," to say that storms have indeed separated them for a while, but that with her death she (the Moon) and Shelley (the Earth) will be united again.

II.

A glance at the following lines will show clearly that Shelley borrowed from *Paradise Lost* a very fine figure for his *Epipsychidion*.

Be there love's folding star at thy return;	Hither [to the Sun], as to their fountain, other stars
The living Sun will feed thee from its urn	Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
Of golden fire; the Moon will veil her horn	And hence the morning planet gilds her horns.
In thy last smiles. (374-77)	(VII, 364-66)

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¹ Lady Jane Shelley's *Shelley Memorials*, pp. 250-51.

² Lines 277-320.

CHRIST A FURY?

Despite Mr. W. M. Rossetti's opinion¹ that the Christ seen by Shelley's Prometheus is a lifeless symbol, it seems probable that one of the furies takes this form. After all except one of the furies have vanished, Panthea looks forth twice but sees only "... a youth With patient looks nailed to a crucifix."² The host brought by Mercury, however, were visible to her and to Ione earlier in the scene. Prometheus answers his tormentor, evidently addressing the Christ before him,

O, horrible! Thy name I will not speak,
It hath become a curse. I see, I see
The wise, the mild, the lofty, and the just,
Whom thy slaves hate for being like to thee. (603-6)

Later, the fury uses the words spoken by Christ on the cross, "... they know not what they do."³ After the fury vanishes, Christ is not mentioned by name, nor do any of the characters address him.

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CLAUDE E. JONES

CARE AND CARELESSNESS IN HARDY

While studying the manuscript of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* recently in the British Museum, I found fresh evidence of Thomas Hardy's well-known zeal for accuracy of description. Chapter 23 of the novel contains the statement: "Mellstock Church . . . lay some three or four miles distant from the dairy-house." The manuscript, however, reads: "two or three miles distant," with the words "two or" crossed out. That is to say, Hardy first wrote "two or three"; then changed this to a definite "three"; and finally altered it to the modern published text, "three or four." To the average reader it makes no difference, but to a man of Hardy's care for details, every mile counts. He was not content to write vaguely of being merely somewhere "on the road to Mandalay." His care is illustrated by the first sentence in chapter 39 of *Far*

¹ In Shelley Society's Papers, I, i, 148.

² *Prometheus Unbound*, act 1, 585-586.

³ *Ibid.*, 631; and *Luke*, 23: 34.

From the Madding Crowd: "On the turnpike road, between Casterbridge and Weatherbury, and about three miles from the former place, is Yalbury Hill." Ernest E. Leisy, one of the few visitors to Hardy's home ever to penetrate into the novelist's work-room, noticed on the wall of the study "a road map of England with Hardy's penciled memorandum of distances to various places."¹

In chapter 41 of *Tess*, Hardy originally wrote, and published in the serial version of 1891: "New rafters and a new ceiling . . . would amount to a sum of forty pounds." After the novel had gone through four editions, Hardy apparently decided that the carpenter's bill was too high, for the final text reads: "a sum of twenty pounds." Yet, for all his care, Hardy sometimes made slips that are perhaps comparable to Shakespeare's sea-coast in Bohemia. This is not the place in which to try to prove (what I am convinced is quite capable of proof) that the novelist used the calendar just as carefully as he did the road-map; but in spite of this conjectured study of the calendar by Hardy,² he has admitted two chronological impossibilities into *Tess*,—slips which, so far as I know, have not yet been pointed out. The calendar for 1934 and 1935 happens to facilitate doing this.

We learn of Tess's wedding-day in chapter 32. "The thirty-first of December, New Year's Eve, was the date." By chapter 45 a year has elapsed. There we read: "Sunday was the only possible opportunity . . . Sunday morning she . . . stepped out. . . . A year had now elapsed since her marriage. . . . It was a year ago, all but a day, that Clare had married Tess." That is, it was Sunday, December 30th, just as in 1934 December 30th came on Sunday. The preceding December 31st, the wedding-day, must therefore have come on Sunday (as did December 31, 1933) unless the year of Tess's desertion was a leap-year, when her wedding-day would come on Saturday. That it did come on Saturday is made clear by the Christmas Eve shopping expedition described in chapter 23; for if Tess had been married on Sunday, no shopping would have been possible on Christmas Eve a week before. Although the wedding, then, is fixed on Saturday, Tess's mother in chapter 38 asks: "When was you married?" and Tess replies, "Tuesday." If Tess was married on Tuesday, then January first (the next day)

¹ *Bethel College Monthly* (Newton, Kansas), Jan. 1932, p. 6.

² See "A Careful Chronology" in *The Writer* (Boston), July, 1934.

would of course be Wednesday; and the year in which January first comes on Wednesday and December thirtieth on Sunday exists only on the seacoast of Bohemia! That "Tuesday" is certainly a mistake. Hardy should have written "Saturday." Tess's Sunday walk, then, took place on December 30th. The following January first would be on Tuesday, as, for example, in 1935. In this case the following March 10th will come on Sunday; and March 10th, we learn in chapter 54, was the day on which John Durbeyfield died. In chapter 50, however, we are told that "one fine day Tess worked on" in the field till dark, and that on her way home "she was met by one of her sisters" with the news that "father is dead." If the day was Sunday, Tess would not have been working in the field. We can remove all the difficulty here by assuming that the date on Durbeyfield's "new headstone" should read "March 11th."

"Thou art perfect, then, our ship hath touched upon the deserts of Bohemia?"

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REVIEWS

Comment Marcel Proust a composé son roman. Par ALBERT FEUILLERAT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. v + 314. Yale Romanic Studies, no. VII.

Il faut prendre l'ouvrage de M. Feuillerat pour ce qu'il est et s'enorgueillir d'être: un défi lancé à la critique intuitive et une défense et illustration des méthodes universitaires, fondées sur le "document" et seules capables de mener "à des déductions d'une rigueur absolue." Ce faisant, il ouvre, non sans courage, un chapitre nouveau dans la querelle qui divise la "Sorbonne" et la critique indépendante, et qui remonte, — on se rappelle les imprécations de Remy de Gourmont contre les professeurs, — aux plus beaux jours du symbolisme. Son livre y acquiert je ne sais quelle saveur belliqueuse qui en corrige l'austérité.

M. Feuillerat gagne la partie dans la large mesure où il demeure fidèle à son principe. Son terrain de bataille est fort bien choisi. Quoi qu'il y paraisse, Proust n'a jamais eu beaucoup de chance avec la critique. Il a connu une gloire tardive, soudaine, encombrante, dont il fut le premier à se défier: mais il est mort trop tôt pour en modérer lui-même et orienter l'essor. De ce fait, l'exégèse proustienne est montée à des hauteurs de nébulosité d'où il n'était pas mauvais qu'on la fit descendre. M. Feuillerat n'a pas tort —

a priori — de nous conseiller un retour aux sources et de recommencer au commencement.

Au commencement était un projet de roman en trois volumes. Le tome I a paru en 1913 chez l'éditeur Grasset: c'est le *Côté de chez Swann*. Le tome II était en cours d'impression à la veille de la guerre, et il en reste 64 "placards" d'imprimerie, donnant environ 500 pages de texte, que M. Feuillerat a eu le mérite de rechercher et de découvrir, et qu'il compare minutieusement à la version aujourd'hui courante. Enfin, du "troisième volume" il n'existe aucun état ancien, mais, s'aidant des enseignements du second, M. Feuillerat s'efforce de le reconstituer tel qu'il eût paru chez Grasset si Proust s'en était tenu à ses projets de 1914. Cette reconstitution, moins aventureuse qu'il ne semble, est faite avec beaucoup de sagacité et de méthode et emporte notre conviction. On peut dire en somme que, grâce à M. Feuillerat, nous possédons désormais un schéma très suffisamment précis de la version ancienne du roman de Marcel Proust.

De la collation des textes il ressort sans doute possible:

(a) Que la masse des apports nouveaux a détruit la simplicité de lignes du plan primitif; (b) Que Proust a évolué moralement. La guerre, la maladie l'ont profondément mûri, aigri et changé. Tous ses personnages, sans exception, ont subi une dépréciation volontaire et malveillante; (c) Que son œuvre, fondée à l'origine sur la fiction du rêve éveillé et des souvenirs inconscients, participe, dans les textes récents, du roman d'analyse traditionnel et du roman social. "A la domination de l'instinct a succédé la contrainte de la raison et de l'intelligence"; (d) Que le style en devient sec, logique, articulé, et perd le chatolement, le velouté, le mystère, empruntés à la technique symboliste, qu'il possédait dans le *Côté de chez Swann*.

L'importance de ces conclusions n'échappera à personne. Elles sont originales et fécondes. La possibilité d'une évolution dans l'esprit et la méthode de Proust a été généralement ignorée ou niée, et toutes les théories qui rattachent à un dessein prémédité certaines caractéristiques frappantes nées en fait du hasard des additions et des retouches apparaîtront nécessairement lettre morte.

Je regrette pour ma part que M. Feuillerat ait voulu pousser plus loin ses avantages. Ou je me trompe fort, ou il ne pouvait s'y risquer sans renoncer à l'objectivité qui est sa règle et son égide. Son argumentation finale ne repose plus sur les faits: elle procède d'une idée dogmatique, j'allais dire d'une préférence, que M. Feuillerat, à la manière de Taine, nourrissait antérieurement à toute documentation. Cette idée, qu'il ne prétend point lui appartenir en propre, mais qu'il espère bien confirmer, c'est que Proust est d'abord et essentiellement un psychologue, épigone de Stendhal, de Balzac, de Fromentin, de Bourget, — la dédicace de M. Feuillerat à M. Paul Bourget, "maître du roman d'analyse," recevant ainsi sa pleine signification. Sans doute M. Feuillerat reconnaît-il très loyalement que *Du Côté de chez Swann* est un chef-d'œuvre, peut-

être même le chef-d'œuvre de Proust; mais, à tout prendre, ce chef-d'œuvre lui semblerait plutôt une séduisante erreur, le produit d'une formule juvénile, excentrique et tant soit peu démodée. Aux volumes ultérieurs, dont il souligne sévèrement les imperfections, il réserve néanmoins ses véritables complaisances, car, selon lui, Proust y découvre son chemin de Damas et y accumule les trésors douloureusement acquis de l'expérience et du savoir.

Qu'on ne se méprenne point sur ma pensée. Nier les facultés d'analyse de Proust; nier qu'elles se soient accrues avec l'âge et de plus en plus libéralement déversées dans son roman, serait une chose absurde. Mais, très exactement, qu'est-ce que cela prouve? Qu'il y a eu évolution, *non nécessairement* révolution. De fait, Marcel Proust n'a jamais renoncé à une seule des fictions primitives. Sa correspondance, ses conversations en font foi, et aussi le fait, souligné par M. Feuillerat lui-même, qu'il procédait par juxtapositions, non par suppressions, et que le texte initial subsiste quasi intact, simplement absorbé par le flot des additions postérieures. Force nous est donc bien d'admettre que Proust n'avait pas abdiqué sa première personnalité et qu'il gardait l'espoir tenace de la réconcilier un jour avec sa personnalité nouvelle. Comment? je n'en sais rien. En vérité je crois voir sans trop de peine les jalons qu'il a posés dans ce sens, mais je doute que personne, critique se fiant à ses propres lumières ou professeur penché sur les documents, puisse jamais obtenir une solution rigoureuse du problème. Pour la très simple raison que Proust a emporté son secret dans la tombe. Pour la très simple raison qu'il existe de son roman une version ancienne, heureusement restituée par M. Feuillerat, et une version nouvelle que nous fournissent les seize volumes compacts de la *Nouvelle Revue Française*; mais qu'il n'en existe pas de version *définitive*. Il faut se résigner à considérer *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* comme une œuvre inachevée, dont nombre de pages ne sont que d'informes brouillons et dont l'auteur, s'il eût vécu et si la maladie lui avait laissé quelque répit, n'eût pas manqué de raffermir l'équilibre et d'effacer les incohérences. Quoi que l'on puisse conjecturer à cet égard, tout jugement sur Marcel Proust, y compris celui de M. Feuillerat, est d'ordre forcément relatif, puisque seul le point de départ nous est connu et que le point d'arrivée demeure mathématiquement indéfini. Et peut-être n'y a-t-il pas trop lieu de s'en plaindre. Dans ce destin incomplet d'un homme et de son œuvre, il entre un peu du pathétique qui nous rend si chères les *Pensées* de Pascal et que ne posséderait point son *Apologie* dûment revue et corrigée. Ce monument dédié à l'Art, arrêté en plein "devenir," remplit mieux son objet que s'il eût atteint le point de perfection immobile où disparaissent tous échafaudages: car nous y saisissons sur le vif les secrets de l'ouvrier et nous y suivons pas à pas les étapes passionnantes de la création intellectuelle.

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Baudelaire Judged by His Contemporaries (1845-1867). By W. T.

BANDY. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1933. Pp. x + 188. \$1.75.

Mr. Bandy's "documentary bibliography," as he calls it in his Foreword, limits itself to "the comparatively short period of Baudelaire's literary productiveness." In a twelve-page Introduction he sketches briefly Baudelaire's literary career, and summarizes the findings of his own bibliographical researches. We learn that the publication, in volume form, of the translation of Poe's *Histoires extraordinaires* (1856)

created an *événement littéraire*; its reception by the critics was no less immediate and favorable than its adoption by the public. . . . Certainly no other of Baudelaire's works before or afterwards, including the *Fleurs du mal*, was so widely read and reviewed" (p. 4); . . . that the *Fleurs du mal* were something of an anti-climax after the popular success of the *Histoires extraordinaires*. . . . The response [to the former] was rather disappointing. Critics did not rise in a body to revile or defend the poet for his immorality or his artistry (pp. 4-5);

finally, that the events in Baudelaire's career which received the greatest attention in the Parisian press were his candidacy for a seat in the Academy and his death. "The necrological articles," we read (p. ix), "which occupy a considerable portion of the bibliography, are practically all reproduced here for the first time; they form . . . the most valuable and informative part of the work, containing numerous details previously unknown concerning Baudelaire's youth and his final illness." The Introduction concludes with a brief paragraph on the controversy aroused by Baudelaire's "conversion in extremis."

Mr. Bandy arrived at these interesting and important conclusions after a very careful study of periodical articles and books dealing with Baudelaire from 1845 to 1867, found in the files of the Bibliothèque nationale and such special collections as that of Spoelberch de Lovenjoul at Chantilly. His Bibliography is divided into two sections: "Périodiques," under which there are 255 items, and "Livres," which lists 39 items. The periodical-items are given in day-by-day chronological order, and are either summarized or quoted verbatim, often in full. The picture which they present of Baudelaire's place in the eyes of the critics and public of his day compels a revision of much of our thinking on the subject and, interestingly enough, affords rather exciting reading. The citations from books of the period carry on the controversy over Baudelaire's significance, and include the famous Hugo letter of Oct. 6, 1859, published as preface to Baudelaire's study on Gautier (Paris, Poulet-Malassis, 1859).

Mr. Bandy deserves to be commended on the zeal with which he has achieved his plan and the importance of his results. We may

note here that he has overlooked several of the items mentioned in Dr. Rhodes's Bibliography.¹ One serious slip is to be found in the printing of Mr. Bandy's volume; the footnotes in the Introduction constantly refer to a page-number in the Bibliography, when what is meant is the item-number; this is very baffling at first, and should be rectified as soon as possible. There are the usual misprints, but they are few and unimportant;² all in all, the little volume presents an attractive appearance and represents a distinct contribution, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Bandy will continue his Baudelaire-researches.

AARON SCHAFFER

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Northern Antiquities in French Learning and Literature (1755-1855). A Study in Preromantic Ideas. By THOR J. BECK. Volume I: *The "Vagina Gentium" and the Liberty Legend.* New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1934. Pp. 195. \$2.25.

This book is learned and probably useful. When the Bibliography and Reference Index promised with a later volume are available an impressive amount of evidence will be at hand, although the user may have to work out his own pattern as to what it means. The author has read widely to investigate the growth of the idea of the North as the cradle of liberty and the source of the most vigorous and manly virtues; he goes back to Tacitus, makes more than one reference to the twentieth century. He wishes to relate his material to the origin of "French Romanticism in the accepted sense" (p. 9; as to just what this sense is he merely gives three references, to a book on English Romanticism, to an article in *RLC.*, to Monglond, *Le Prérromantisme français*). He devotes much of his space to "Mallet's epoch-making works, *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, 1755, and *Monumens de la mythologie et de la poésie des anciens Scandinaves*, 1756" (p. 9). Mallet is no doubt important to a specialist, but "epoch-making" suggests a twist in values frequent in doctoral dissertations. Mr. Beck gives major attention to scholars, historians, publicists — which is not inconsistent with his title. Montesquieu, Rousseau, Chateaubriand

¹ *The Cult of Beauty in Charles Baudelaire*, New York, Inst. of Fr. Studies, 1929. It should be added that Dr. Rhodes's bibliography of articles on Baudelaire begins only with the year 1855, and that his list for the years 1855-67 makes no claim to completeness.

² "No. 119" (p. 76, l. 5) should read "no. 120"; "indissolument" (p. 82, l. 25) is an error for "indissolublement," "mémoires" (p. 92, l. 14) for "mémoires" and "physiologique" (p. 179, l. 22) for "physionomie."

receive frequent if not always significant mention. A final chapter sums up certain of the author's summaries.

In concluding, we may say that Germanomania and the attendant Septentriomania were carried forward as elements in the preromantic movement through an interplay of three circumstances: Hotman's political school of pro-Germanism and "Gothic" democracy à la Tacitus, the Hyperborean and similar exotic legends as applied to a "Stoic" conception of his Germania, and these legends as revived by Rudbeck and Bailly with reference to Plato's Atlantis (p. 193).

Such a result, a mere enumeration, seems meager.

Critical comments consist chiefly of repetitions of "(sic!)."
Sentences like the following are less than lucid:

Michelet's "cosmic" conception of history is an abandonment from a science that should deal with real facts and positive testimonies and not with metaphysical vagaries and a philosophy of history (p. 82); Reynier calls to mind that the ancients claimed to inhabit the center or navel of the Earth which they thought flat—a notion which the moderns have replaced by the idea of being native of the land which was peopled first (p. 143).

B. refers to 1749-1762 as "the 4th period" of Rousseau's life (p. 76). Why so neatly the "4th"? B. is sometimes over-definite and sometimes nebulous. In the chapter on *Germanism* and *Pantheism* the second term is used very loosely; B. seems to mean by Pantheism "the plan of an *ideal history* that is 'eternally common to all nations'" (p. 83). Translation of "le vieil homme" as "old age" (p. 126) is debatable. I do not know what B. means by an "excellent, if uncontrolled, scholar" (p. 178). The characterization of Chateaubriand as "the unscrupulous preromanticist bent on theatrical effect" (p. 166) might seem downright even to a severe Sainte-Beuve—and implies an appraisal of preromanticism that makes one ask why the author gives the phenomenon such extensive and respectful attention. Indeed there is in the whole book a certain blur. B. proposes to go on to related investigations. With his industry and determination he may presently achieve focus.

HORATIO SMITH

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The Relations between Literature and Mediaeval Studies in France from 1820-1860. By DOROTHY DOOLITTLE. Bryn Mawr: 1933. Pp. iv + 145.

The two-fold purpose of this thesis is to show the debt of the Romantic school of 1820-1830 to the real Middle Ages and mediaeval literature and to discover the relationship between the Romantic movement of the same decade and the scholarly movement of 1830-1845. The introduction deals briefly with the mediaeval

movement in the eighteenth century, while the first chapter makes a careful study of it in the French Romantics. Here is noted the importance of Charles Nodier, whose enthusiasm for the Middle Ages developed into propaganda among his contemporaries of the Cénacle for the use in their writing of the "culte des ruines" and of mediaeval history and literature. There follows an examination of the creative writings of 1820-1830 of Hugo, Musset, Gautier, Deschamps, Mérimée, Vigny for the treatment of these motifs. It is found that mediaeval architecture exerts a greater influence than either history or literature on the Romantics. Mention, moreover, is made of a reaction against the mediaeval movement.

The work of the scholars is divided into three periods, 1820-1830, 1830-1845, 1845-1860. Old French texts are published in constantly increasing numbers till 1845. More and more scholarly work is done in the way of collation of manuscripts and critical studies, as we progress toward 1860. Parallel to the augmenting quality of scholarship is the growth of the popularity of mediaeval literature. The reaction noted among the creative writers serves only as a stimulus to their learned contemporaries. An analysis of the public is the final step in this study. The conclusion explains the relation between the two groups. Though there were few direct personal contacts, each was indebted to the other. Early in his career, Nodier had come under the influence of certain scholars; but he was almost unique among the Romantics in his debt to them. On the other hand, the debt of the scholars to the creative writers was great; since it was they who prepared an audience for the work of the scholars.

That Miss Doolittle has made every effort to exhaust her subject is evident not only in the course of its treatment but also in the valuable appendices in which she lists first, the editions of Old French texts published between 1820 and 1860; second, the critical material dealing with Old French literature published between 1820 and 1860; third, reviews of editions of Old French texts published between 1820 and 1840. In each list there appear also certain works published before 1820, included "as a matter of convenience." It would seem more fitting, since they appear in the body of the thesis, to place them together with other works of reference in a bibliography, which is notable by its absence. The omission of this and of an index detracts much from the usefulness of this study.

The author minimizes perhaps the mediaeval interest before 1820. We have in mind especially the works of Chateaubriand, other than the *Génie du christianisme*, in which the "culte des ruines" and chivalry bulk large and where there is some reference to mediaeval literature. Intensely interested in history, the precursor of Romanticism identifies the Gothic cathedral with the national past and evokes that past in contemplating the cathedral. In

this, he precedes both Nodier and Deschamps. The manner in which the whole subject is treated is logical and clear. If, in the course of the thesis, the frequent summaries prove somewhat too obvious and tedious, the conclusion redeems the work by its ease and naturalness. On the whole, this is an admirable addition to the studies of the Romantic period.

META HELENA MILLER

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina

The Staging of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" of the MS. Cangé. By DOROTHY PENN. New York: 1933. Pp. 95. (Publications of the Institute of French Studies).

The forty plays of the MS. Cangé, in spite of their pious dénouement brought about by the often curious but timely intervention of the Virgin, belong with that very small group represented by the *Griseledis*, which shows us what might have been the characteristics of a secular theatre of romantic adventure and violent realism, had such a theatre developed in France as it did in Elizabethan England. In her recent study, Miss Penn limits herself almost entirely to an investigation of the probable staging of these plays. She does indicate, however, her opinion that the collection was probably the property of a guild which celebrated the principal fêtes of the Virgin, the Purification in February, the Annunciation in March, the Assumption in August, by the presentation in a closed hall of one of these plays. It does not seem likely that more than one or two plays were given each year, so that the collection would cover, then, the activity of thirty-five to forty years (pp. 8-9). Miss Penn offers Magnin's dating of this period, 1345-80, without comment of her own and without discussion of Roy's arguments for the extension of these dates (*Etudes sur le Théâtre fr. du XIV et du XV siècle*, Paris, 1902, pp. clxxxix, etc.). As for the location of this guild, there is the interesting suggestion that it was neither Senlis, Rouen, nor even Paris, but rather Boulogne. The evidence adduced for Boulogne merits greater space in the text, rather than relegation to a footnote.

After a careful analysis of the scenes indicated in each play, the author concludes that all of the plays could have been presented adequately on an indoor stage of probably forty feet in width, with the aid of a permanent "set" of not more than nine *mansions*. The setting required for the most elaborate of these plays, No. xxxvii, "is a natural growth of the first stage, which was of the same scheme but fewer *mansions*" (p. 22). Charts, as well as a study of the miniatures of the MS., help to make clear and plausible this

conclusion. A chapter on stage devices shows that, once favored by the public, the same devices and typical scenes, torture, hunting scenes, etc., kept recurring in the successive plays. Finally, Miss Penn undertakes a detailed comparison of the simplest of the *Miracles* (I) with the most elaborate and in her opinion most highly developed in dramatic technique (XXXVII) in order to prove a fundamental resemblance in construction and scenic arrangement.

Throughout the repertoire, if one studies attentively the text, the plot, the devices, and the emotional appeals of these plays, one finds fair evidence that the staging of each play was based on, or at least took cognizance of, the stage and the manner of presentation of foregoing plays (p. 56).

There are two closely related and important questions hardly touched upon in this study: what is the authorship of the plays, and are the plays now arranged in the chronological order of their composition? The evidence of varied authorship is clear and has been studied carefully by Schnell (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanische Philologie* XXXIII, 1885, p. 73), who is quoted by Miss Penn as she offers her own hypothesis that the collection represents the work of fifteen to twenty authors (pp. 9-10, note 26). The investigations proving varied authorship show, at the same time, that the plays cannot be now in their correct chronological relation. It is unfortunate that the author did not know the thesis of Mlle Stadler-Honegger (*Etude sur les Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*, Paris, 1926), where it is convincingly shown, for example, that plays III and XIV are probably by the same author (p. 136), that the most advanced dramatic technique seems that of XII and of XXVI (p. 78). Such results should have been considered by the author before dividing the plays arbitrarily (p. 14) into three groups, I-XIV, XV-XXV, XXVI-XL, each successive group showing supposedly an increase in dramatic and scenic development.

The usefulness of this study is somewhat impaired by certain deficiencies in method. This is particularly evident in the introduction, where in her brief summary of the Old French religious drama and its staging, the author relies far too closely on such secondary and out-dated sources as Petit de Julleville, apparently unaware of the work of Karl Young and the existence in modern editions of such texts as the *Miracle de Théophile* and of the two texts so important for the history of early medieval staging, the *Représentation d'Adam* and the *Anglo-Norman Resurrection*. A more thorough acquaintance with the *mystères* would have avoided certain doubtful statements in comparing them with the *miracles* (cf. pp. 2, 3, 19, 63). Frequently, in the depicting of stage devices and scenes, we should like to know whether the author is drawing upon definite sources (cf. pp. 20, 38, etc.). Omission of editions, as notably that of *Griseledis*, etc., p. 68; of page refer-

ences (cf. pp. 7, 20), errors in the spelling of citations from the *Miracles* (cf. pp. 38, l. 850, p. 28, l. 709), are prevalent. Finally, chapter headings would have been helpful.

The following additions may be made to the author's general bibliography:

- Busch, R., *Ueber die Bethenungs- und Beschwörungsformeln in den Miracles*, Marburg, 1886.
 Loewinski, H., *Die Lyrik in den "Miracles de Nostre Dame,"* Berlin, 1900.
 Forkert, F., *Beiträge zu den Bildern aus dem altfranz. Volksleben auf Grund der "Miracles de Nostre Dame" par personnages*, Teil I and II; *Glaubensleben u. kirchliches Leben*, Heidelberg thesis, Bonn, 1901.
 Lancaster, H. C., *The French Tragi-Comedy*, Baltimore, 1907.
 Baur, A., *Beitrag zu Untersuchungen über mittelalterliche Moral auf Grund der "Miracles de Notre-Dame,"* Zurich, 1911.
 Meyer, H., *Die Predigten in den Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, Berlin, 1911.
 Wittmann, A., *Flexion in den altfr. Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, Heidelberg, 1911.
 Axelson, A., *Supernatural beings in the French Med. Dramas, with special reference to the Miracles of the Virgin*, Copenhagen, 1924.
 Stadler-Honegger, M., *Etude sur les Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*, Zurich thesis, Paris, 1926.

On the whole, Miss Penn has done a serious and interesting piece of work. Her study contributes to our knowledge of the medieval theatre by showing how definitely one type of stage setting prevailed, a limited number of *mansions* of conventional structure, a palace, the sea, an inn, whether the players were representing the secular *miracle* of the *Marquise de la Gaudine* in a closed hall, or the *Mystère de la Passion* in the open square before the church.

JEAN GRAY WRIGHT

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Hartmann von Aue. *Studien zu einer Biographie.* Von H. SPARNAAY. Erster Band. Halle: Niemeyer, 1932. Pp. v, 179.

Hartmann, owing to the clarity of his style and his general literary excellence, has always been a favorite object of investigators, both mature and immature. A general summary of the results obtained by Sparnaay and his predecessors was greatly to be desired; such is offered by the work under consideration. The opening chapter treats of the facts of Hartmann's life as far as anything can be surmised about them. Switzerland, largely for linguistic reasons, is declared to be his home. A second chapter treats of the chronological sequence of the works and a third of the *Lieder* and *Büchlein*. In reference to the sequence of the works Sparnaay holds that this can only be determined by the progress of Hartmann's art in handling his material. He regrets in this connection the lack of investigations on style and language of the epic of the

pre-classical period considered as models for the early Hartmann, who never ceased to perfect his art. A study of select words and the rhymes, to a less degree of the syntax and related aspects would seem to suggest the sequence: *Gregor*, *Arme Heinrich*, and *Iwein*, *Erec* being separated from *Gregor* by a gap. This simply confirms the order of Hartmann's works already established by Lachmann (1793-1851), a proof of the high grade of German scholarship at an early period. Sparnaay inclines to place the *Büchlein* before *Erec*. In the third chapter he declares impossible any attempt to determine the sequence of the *Lieder*. For the *Büchlein* Sparnaay is inclined to assume a French rather than a Provençal source. The 'Schlussgedicht' (*Büchlein*, v. 1645-1914), he considers to be by Hartmann. In a fourth chapter he treats *Erec*, a tale of a knight who neglected his knightly duties and put his wife to a severe test. Sparnaay concludes that Hartmann was undoubtedly acquainted with the *Erec* of Chrestien de Troyes, but he recognizes other strains of influence represented for us by the *Mabinogion* and the Norse *Erexasaga*. For the final discussion of Hartmann's art the reader is referred to the second volume, which will also treat the *Arme Heinrich* and the *Iwein*. But we may not leave the subject of the *Erec* without stressing the sustained interest with which the author handles the involved problems of the *Erec* story. The last topic treated in the volume under discussion is Hartmann's *Gregorius*, based on a French original, a story of conscious and unconscious sin and salvation through God's great forgiveness. Sparnaay would like to link up the main story with the tale of Dârâb in the *Schachnâme* of the Persian poet Firdusi, such influence being quite possible in the period of the Crusades. This matter he believes to have been expanded by influence of the Greek legend of Saint Martinian, like Gregorius a penitent confined on a lonely island and eventually elevated to the dignity of the papacy. There are also contacts with the Arthurian cycle (cf. the summary, p. 179).

It is to be regretted that Sparnaay could not make use of Sievers' article: *Zur inneren und äusseren Chronologie der Werke Hartmanns von Aue* in: *Festgabe Philipp Strauch*, Halle, 1932. It may not have been available to him at the time his book was being published. Sievers arranges the *Lieder* by means of his 'Querindex' and the type of sound production in two consecutive series. The *Kreuzlieder* conclude the second series. Hartmann is recognized to be Swiss. *Minnesangs Frühling*, 217, 14 and 212, 37 are not by Hartmann, the former being Bavarian, the latter Middle German. This is of importance, far reaching conclusions having been drawn in reference to Hartmann's life from *M. F.*, 217, 24, which is not Alemannic. Sievers' opinion seems to this reviewer incontrovertible. To *Erec* is assigned a place before the oldest *Lied*. The *Büchlein* takes its place between *Lied* 3 and 4. The

Anhang of *Büchlein* (v. 1645-1914) is not by Hartmann. *Iwein* closes the series of Hartmann's works. The *Gregorius* and *Arme Heinrich* possess a complicated structure, large sections having been revised or intercalated by the poet at a later date. These passages constitute about 34% of the *Gregorius* and 42% of the *Arme Heinrich*. How far they are newly added or merely recast is a question by itself. The revision of the *Arme Heinrich* follows almost immediately after that of the *Gregorius*. The older versions of these poems are placed in chronological sequence between *Lied* 8 and 9. The later additions, over against the simple piety of the original form, are marked by excessive religious moralizing. The much discussed passage *M. F.*, 218, 19:

und lebt mîn herre,
Salatîn und al sîn her, dien brähten mich
von Franchen niemer einen fuoz!

is established in the form indicated by the comma after *her*, referring to Saladin († 1193) as still living. In consequence the crusade referred to must have been that of Friedrich Barbarossa A.D. 1189, not that of 1197.

The present reviewer is convinced that Sievers' determinations by 'Schallanalyse' excell in importance and reliability any results obtained by other methods. The greater definiteness of Sievers' statements can be seen by comparing them with those of Sparnaay. This is not to say that the traditional methods of research are displaced by 'Schallanalyse,' which covers only a well defined field. It would however seem rational for all investigators to take note of any results obtained by Sievers in German, in English, in Romance or other languages, and to determine how far they seem to agree with the results by different methods.

To sum up Sparnaay's work it must be characterized as extremely conscientious, holding an equal balance between his own opinions and those of others.

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William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape. By N. BRYLLION FAGIN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. xii + 229. \$2.25.

The naturalist William Bartram (1739-1823) of Philadelphia was an interesting man in himself and in what he did or indirectly effected; his influence was considerable abroad as well as in America. A good many scattered articles have been published concerning him and his father, John Bartram, the self-taught botanist and well-known founder of a botanic garden; and there are many references to both men in books of their own time and since. William certainly

deserved a book about him, and Dr. Fagin by way of a dissertation has produced a very useful book, to which any one who desires full information on its subject from now on must turn; there will be no need of another book on William Bartram.

This volume is divided into three Parts and a Conclusion, with a brief Appendix, a Bibliography of ten pages, and an Index of thirteen, superadded. Part I contains three chapters, on Bartram's Life and Character, his Philosophy of Nature, and his Studies of the American Indian; Part II, two chapters, on the Elements of Bartram's Landscape, and his Art. Part III is not divided into chapters, but takes up the literary influence of Bartram on Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Bowles, Campbell, Mrs. Hemans, Lamb, Shelley, Tennyson, and Carlyle; on Emerson, Thoreau, Chivers, and Hearn; and on Chateaubriand and other Continental writers. The influence of Bartram on Wordsworth and Coleridge has been exploited heretofore, by Ernest Hartley Coleridge and the present writer, and, among others, recently by Lowes. There was more left to do in following it through lesser or later English and American poets. The special value of Dr. Fagin's work seems to lie in these minor researches, and in his account of Bartram's life. The laudatory references to Bartram that are here collected I also commend to the reader, along with the parallel passages from Bartram's *Travels* and the writings they influenced. Documentary evidence is precisely supplied.

If there is anything yet definitely wanting, it is a study of Continental influence upon Bartram, and of his influence upon Continental writers apart from Chateaubriand; the adaptations by Chateaubriand from Bartram's *Travels* have long been known. This study of Continental writers, of their debt, that is, to Bartram, Dr. Fagin (p. 198) has left to some successor—who may well confine himself to an article or articles, without attempting a doctoral dissertation on the subject.

It is hardly fair to label Bartram, as Dr. Fagin does, an interpreter of *the* American landscape. Any reader of Wordsworth's *Ruth* and of his lines to Hartley Coleridge at the age of six will see the difference in effect on the same poet of two kinds of American landscape, as reported by Carver in the region of the Great Lakes and by Bartram in Georgia. Obviously Wordsworth's eye was caught by Bartram's exuberant account of the flowers that 'set the hills on fire'; it is not so obvious, but it can be shown, that Wordsworth did not altogether like the exuberance. At all events the landscape Bartram tells of is only one among a number in North America, and more akin to things which Tennyson might approve, but which left Wordsworth now and then uneasy. Dr. Fagin (p. 190) repeats the story told by Aubrey de Vere of a meeting between Tennyson and the elderly Wordsworth in which the younger man became enthusiastic over 'a tropical island where the

trees, when they first [came] into leaf, were a vivid scarlet, every one of them . . . one flush . . . the color of blood.'—I mention the unnoticed parallel with one of the islands in Tennyson's *Voyage of Maeldune*.—Tennyson complained that he had failed to arouse any enthusiasm in Wordsworth for the island. 'The old poet,' according to the story, may have recalled the scarlet flowers in *Ruth*, and did not need 'to glow' a second time. The truth is, however, that there is in Wordsworth at first hand nothing of the Asian or exotic style. It is the dubious hero of *Ruth* into whose seductive speeches Wordsworth introduced the exuberance of Bartram. Dr. Fagin's work is painstaking and full, but lacks something in the finer aspects of interpretation; he overestimates the excellence of the *Travels*, excellent as they are, and cannot see the deficiencies of its writer for the virtues. He is good enough to think well of my discoveries of parallels with Bartram, but not ready to accept what I thought best in my discussion of them, my insistence on the criticism involved in Wordsworth's use of books of travel and the want of criticism by Coleridge in his use of them.

LANE COOPER

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Sheridan Knowles and the Theatre of his Time. By LESLIE HOWARD MEEKS. Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1933. xii + 240 pp. \$3.25.

A spirited, entertaining, well-written, and informative feature of this book is Chapter VII, "In America." Otherwise, *Sheridan Knowles* is commonplace, chiefly because Mr. Meeks devotes most of his time to the internals of Knowles's empty stuff and consequently adds little to what was already understood. The inevitable conclusion is that Knowles and his plays, though they "acted" and were admired, were "perhaps one part genius and three parts sheer twaddle." Somehow in the vain search for lasting qualities in Knowles, Mr. Meeks never discovers his significance in the theatre of his time. Chapter I, "The Setting," is decidedly the least adequate. The story of the 19th-century theatre is not a list of otherwise great men who failed to write great acting drama for a variety of reasons, but a series of movements, the slow currents of which were stirred chiefly by competent actors, directors, and playwrights. For example, explicitly and implicitly Mr. Meeks calls Knowles a domestic dramatist (pp. 74, 75, 78, 84-5, 107, 129), but nowhere does he discuss domestic dramas. Yet they were numerous enough before 1843 to constitute a school and they were important for three main reasons: (1) they acquired peculiar emphases, indicative of *zeitgeist*, which distinguished them from

earlier examples of the genre; (2) they were written by important persons like Browning, as in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*; and (3) they helped with other genres to bring romantic tragedy down to earth and to the tragic comedy of common human relationships, a sense of social responsibility, and a knowledge of society as a determinant in human behavior. Knowles was the purest of domestic dramatists. The genre suited his temperament, as his American speeches show. He was also the first to dignify the "new" school with literacy, a "Shakespearean" elegance which it had lacked in the hands of Jerrold, its boastful father, and which appealed to the cultured as it appealed to Andrew Jackson or James O'Neill. In the movement of theatrical ideas, Knowles is significant because he wrote domestic drama and because, for whatever reason, few others of his time wrote anything better. There is even something to be said for the "realism" of a drama in which sentiments, rather than persons or ideas, conflict. For though in it no respectable sentiment can triumph over another without shocking the audience and turning the play into a thesis-drama; though the dramatist has therefore to resort to artifices like a new-found, long-lost family for a dénouement; and though in specific actual cases one sentiment invariably defeats a conflicting sentiment—in spite of all these conditions, sentiments, however often they conflict, by some trickery do survive forever in reality.¹

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¹ When in *The Hunchback* or *The Secretary* or Bulwer's *Lady of Lyons*, love (a sentiment, not a passion) conflicts with filial respect or with caste-pride, only a sudden elevation of the objectionable hero or heroine can effect a proper dénouement. In *A Woman killed with Kindness*, similarly, Heywood is forced to resort to the strawberry-mark device, for he may not make Frankford kill Anne since that would violate the sentiment of triumphant natural love and he may not allow Anne to have loved with impunity outside the marriage-bond, and so he slithers between the alternatives and makes Anne mortally consumptive. Knowles's *Virginus* is invariably misjudged because it is never examined by the standards of its genre. *Virginus*'s duty is to avenge with death a dishonored daughter, but he ought not to kill even a villain and, if he does, he ought not to commit suicide even to escape the consequences. Accordingly, Knowles makes him mad and explains in an "Author's Preface" that this madness "gives the catastrophe the air of a visitation of Providence"—it is not a blunder in character study or in plot management but a characteristic domestic-dramatic trick. Mr. Meeks, incidentally, calls *The Wife* (p. 117) a thesis-play. The thesis is that of *Comus*, that virtue and innocence always triumph against appearances!

The Orient in American Transcendentalism, A Study of Emerson, Thoreau and Alcott. By ARTHUR CHRISTY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xix + 382. \$4.00.

Mr. Christy's book is interesting as being the second publication within a brief time on the theme of the Oriental influence upon the transcendentalists, the preceding one being Frederick I. Carpenter's *Emerson and Asia*. They are worthy of remark in the mere fact that they serve to break down in some slight degree the occidental provincialism which makes almost all study of European and American culture proceed on the tacit assumption that world culture is bounded on the east by Athens, on the west by San Francisco, on the south by the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Mexico, and on the north by the Arctic Ocean. It would be wholesome to have a prolonged continuation of these studies which would throw into their proper perspective the relationship between the culture of the old east and that of the new west.

Mr. Christy's work proceeds two steps further than Mr. Carpenter's in progressing from Emerson to Thoreau and Alcott and in giving an introductory statement which indicates both the extent and the limitations of western consciousness and western obligations. The volume at hand is also commendable on account of its attempt not merely to accumulate data, but to arrive at interpretative conclusions which in literary studies are the only justification for the amassing of facts.

The book, however, has its shortcomings, the author's reach far surpassing his grasp. As far as the Emersonian section goes, Mr. Christy, in perhaps a laudable attempt not to duplicate Carpenter's work, abandons the most valuable feature of *Emerson and Asia*, which was the approach to the subject in terms of the progressive steps of consciousness of, knowledge of, allusion to, quotation from, and assimilation of Oriental concepts. And there is an apparent dissatisfaction with the results in this longest section of the book in changing to another method with Thoreau and Alcott, on the ground that to pursue the methods with these "would lead to monotonous repetition and to anti-climax." It is a just observation and is what it did lead to in the Emerson section.

Other defects may perhaps arise from a degree of immaturity in the author-critic. He inclines to assign every likeness between the Concordians and the Oriental classics as a matter of indebtedness, in spite of the fact that often they could be accounted for in terms of the character and temperament of the American writers. He inclines in the fashion of Biblical exegesis toward a literal interpretation of poetic utterances. In the interests of his case he tends to make much of confirmatory data and to discount the data on the other side of the question.

One of the best observations in the whole volume is contained in

the concluding brief section in which the conflict between the Puritan and the Oriental is expounded, and the result of these in the Concord group is implied. The book has a great deal of significant data distributed through it and can be valuable largely in proportion to the informed discrimination of the reader. A seasoned student can cull and interpret much that is presented there. An uninitiated one might be somewhat misled by it.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

University of Chicago

Swinburne's Literary Career and Fame. By CLYDE KENNETH HYDER. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1933. Pp. xii + 388. \$3.50.

I have a particular and personal interest, in fact a two-fold interest, in Dr. Hyder's monograph. He has done for the history of Swinburne's reputation in England what ten years ago I attempted to do for Byron's. And he has made considerable use of my own book on Swinburne, which he commends in courteous and gratifying terms. It is natural, therefore, for me to read his book to some extent at least by my own light. No such enormous mass of criticism and commentary has grown up around Swinburne's "fame and after-fame" as around Byron's, partly because of a much briefer lapse of time, partly because he is a much less significant figure. In consequence, where my problem was one of condensation and selection (my own card-index of Byroniana contains more than twice as many items as are given in the bibliography which I printed), his has been to include, if possible, practically every reference to Swinburne, including the ephemerality of the comic journals (which, by the way, are not insignificant since they reflect current opinion and taste). I have noted but two omissions of consequence: a bitter attack upon the poet by Miss Marie Corelli (who, like the comic journals, reflected the taste of a very large public) and a thoughtful estimate in Masterman's too-soon-forgotten volume "In Peril of Change," published not long before Swinburne's death. Dr. Hyder has further swelled his volume by including a subject for which, in the case of Byron, I found there was scarcely any room: the poet's reactions to the criticism of his work. In this sense, not in the sense that a new narrative of his literary life is offered, the words of his title—"Literary Career"—are intended. This portion of his subject involves the repetition of a good deal of old controversial matter; the elaborate accounts of Swinburne's quarrels, though they could not be omitted, might have been condensed.

Dr. Hyder rightly distinguishes three phases through which

Swinburne's reputation passed in his own life-time. He was the poet of blasphemy, the poet of erotic passion, and (at a somewhat later date) the poet of Republicanism. In the opinion of many contemporaries he was most "dangerous" in this last rôle. I wish that Dr. Hyder had elaborated some suggestions given in my *Swinburne* and had set the republican poet against the background of republican sentiment which was extraordinarily vocal in England in the early eighteen-seventies. During the last decades of his life and since his death Swinburne's significance as the poet of liberty has, as Dr. Hyder remarks, to some extent overshadowed his notoriety as the poet of passion. The once-celebrated lilies of vice have sadly wilted; but there are still those who await a political sunrise—even though they have neither the genius nor the confidence to sing about it.

The innumerable details of the monograph have been so carefully checked and rechecked that there is little to be said except by way of commendation. Dr. Hyder hints a disagreement with me regarding Watts-Dunton's influence upon Swinburne during the long years at Putney. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the man who could cure Swinburne of brandy-drinking could do a good deal towards the moulding of his opinions. In particular, it was not an "assumption" on my part (see page 287) that Watts-Dunton encouraged Swinburne's attacks upon Lord Lytton ("Owen Meredith"). I had the story from Lytton's intimate friend, the late Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. It is true that the parody of Lytton's style was composed long before the "Putney Period"; but it was not published till then. This, however, is a small matter. The monograph may be unreservedly commended as an admirable example of what has always seemed to me an interesting and important kind of literary inquiry. The notes are abundant and rich in entertaining details. The bibliography is invaluable.

S. C. CHEW

Bryn Mawr College

The Correspondence of Richard Hurd and William Mason, and Letters of Richard Hurd to Thomas Gray. With Introduction and Notes, by the Late ERNEST HAROLD PEARCE, Bishop of Worcester. Edited with Additional Notes by LEONARD WHIBLEY. Cambridge, University Press, 1932. Pp. xxxi + 179. 10 sh. 6 d.

Fifty-nine letters—thirty-five from Hurd to Mason, nineteen from Mason to Hurd, and five from Hurd to Gray—from the collection at Hartlebury, the seat of the Worcester diocese, over which Hurd presided tell the story of the life-long friendship of Hurd

and Mason. Hurd appears frequently in the rôle of critic. Constructive suggestions for the improvement of *Caractacus* and the *Religio Laici*, encouragement to complete "Il Bellicoso" and "Il Pacifico" and to resume work on the *English Garden*, praise of everything Mason wrote—praise that is sometimes sound and sometimes indiscriminate and even absurd: all this and more, Hurd, the critic, offers his friend Mason, the poet. But Hurd was Mason's adviser, confidant, and comforter as well. When "Il Bellicoso" and "Il Pacifico" fail to receive the public approval that Hurd had predicted for them, he assures the poet that the "bad taste of the public" must be blamed. When Mason is discouraged by his failure to receive promotion, Hurd consoles him with the thought that Heaven "has given us what no fortune could have done, the love and friendship of each other."

Mason, it appears, held a unique place in Hurd's affections. The latter, during his long life of eighty-eight years, admitted no more than a half dozen persons to his intimate circle. He "never wore his heart on his sleeve," and his natural reserve and distrust of any emotional display generally exclude the intimate passages we might expect in a correspondence with close friends. Only in the letters to Mason do we discover a warmth of affection and, what is quite as unusual, an absence of formality and reserve. In the Hurd-Mason correspondence, therefore, we have, for the first time, an opportunity to meet a completely human Richard Hurd, very different from the prim, precise little bishop, cold and supercilious, that his contemporaries have pictured to us and that his biographer Kilvert has been only partially successful in altering.

Aside from the interesting light that it throws on the relations between the two men this collection of letters has little to offer. Personal matters are the chief concern of the writers. The correspondence does not help us to a better understanding of the eighteenth century or its leading figures. The introduction is of value chiefly in accounting for the temporary breach in the friendship of Hurd and Mason. Directly and indirectly it also suggests the wealth of material which the archives at Hartlebury hold for whoever shall give us a modern study of the life and works of Richard Hurd.

AUDLEY L. SMITH

The George Washington University

The Versification of Thomas Hardy. By ELIZABETH CATHCART HICKSON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 129.

Here is a thorough-going analysis of the verse forms used in the two thousand and more poems in Thomas Hardy's collected works

The statistical analysis is complete, stresses, rhythms, rimes, stanzas, figures of speech, assonances, alliterations, everything is here reduced to tabular form. And though a captious critic might undertake an examination of a few of the studies, and not always find himself in agreement with the findings—for example it is always easy to redistribute stresses and find an ever increasing number of variations in dominant verse patterns—the study is an admirable piece of diligent and even resourceful research. And yet one pauses—it is unfair to compare it with the excellent study that the poet Bridges made of the poet Milton. The one is looking for the secret of the aural charm of poetry, the other is making a table of statistics. One ought to be forbidden to carry these things too far. They show the enormous amount of capital punishment graduate students can take in the preparation of their dissertations.

The poetry of most convincing poets is architectural. It was not necessary for Thomas Hardy to have had his training in architecture to discover this generalization. Goethe said it long before Hardy; and the Greeks practiced it long before the architects designed the Parthenon. But in this architectural design of a successful poem there are many elusive elements—but none the less real—that never can be reduced into any tabulation or shown by the analysis of statistics. I refer to tone, pitch, and even the elusiveness of the pause and its relative duration, the question of tempo,—these are felt by the reader, and as in music are matters of interpretation on which all will not be agreed.

As a result one looks in vain here for any generalizations which will give much help to a better understanding of the essential thing—the aural charm of the verse of Thomas Hardy. The less austere method of Robert Bridges succeeded much more nearly in doing precisely what the poet-critic wanted—giving a clue how Milton ought to be read, and enjoyed in the reading.

PHILO M. BUCK, JR.

University of Wisconsin

BRIEF MENTION

Vorträge 1930/1931: England und die Antike. Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, herausgegeben von FRITZ SAXL, Band IX. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1932. Pp. 304, with 30 plates. The Bibliothek Warburg was founded a generation ago in Hamburg to serve as a centre for the study of the influence of Classical culture on modern civilization. It has already published more than twenty monographs, some of them of first importance, and we have before us the ninth volume of lectures, delivered by nine English

and German scholars during the winter of 1930-31, on the general subject of Ancient culture in England. As might be expected, the volume is neither a treatise nor a history; the lectures are mainly of a monographic and specialized nature and have little connection beyond the common theme. Three lecturers chose subjects of considerable scope: E. F. Jacob, on "Some aspects of classical influence in Mediaeval England"; Walter F. Schirmer, on "Chaucer, Shakespeare und die Antike"; and Sir Richard W. Livingstone, on "The position and function of classical studies in modern English education." The essay by Livingstone is of great interest to anyone concerned with the problem of humanistic education in our time. Hans Liebeschütz, discussing "Der Sinn des Wissens bei Roger Bacon," denies the modernity of Bacon's thought. J. A. K. Thomson, who published a book on *Irony* a few years ago, contributes a paper on "Erasmus in England," in which his contention is, to quote his own words, "that the great contribution of Erasmus to European culture is this that he brought back irony into literature. And I would add that he did it in conjunction with Sir Thomas More." Such a thesis is provocative but the author makes out a good case. Oskar Fischel discusses "Inigo Jones und der Theaterstil der Renaissance," particularly of course with reference to modifications of Classical artistic traditions. E. Cassirer, in "Shaftesbury und die Renaissance des Platonismus in England," contends that through Shaftesbury the spirit of Plato was diffused through modern culture in Europe. While this contention is indubitably true, Cassirer's account needs a good deal of supplementing; in the first place, the philosophy of Plato reached the modern world by other avenues than Shaftesbury; in the second place, the philosophy of Shaftesbury was far from being a pure Platonism and was derived from a great variety of sources; and finally, it may very well be argued that the elements in Shaftesbury which gained the greatest popularity and influence were not strictly Platonic. Cassirer's pattern of the history of thought is too simple and schematic. The same criticism applies to the essay by Edgar Wind on "Humanitätsidee und heroisiertes Porträt in der englischen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts." Wind associates by a circuitous argument the philosophy of Hume and the painting of Gainsborough: Reynolds belongs to the circle of Johnson and shares the philosophy of Beattie; but Reynolds and Gainsborough were rivals in painting, just as Beattie was a critic of the philosophy of Hume; therefore by a sort of geometrical necessity the art of Gainsborough finds itself ranged alongside the sceptical philosophy of Hume. Such generalizations and plausible syntheses are the peculiar danger and temptation of "geistesgeschichte." In conclusion mention should be made of the characteristic essay on "Classicism and romanticism in the poetry of Walter Savage

Landor" by E. de Selincourt, whose scholarship is never wayward and whose criticism is a delight.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

The Rule of Health. By JOHN GHESEL. Edited by H. T. Price. Pp. iv + [24]; *A Special Help to Orthographie.* By RICHARD HODGES. Edited by C. C. F. Pp. xiv + 30; *The Art of Limming.* Edited by C. E. P. Pp. iv + 26. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1932. (Michigan Facsimile Series, 1, 2, 3.) These are the first of some two or three hundred facsimiles of 16th- and 17th-century rare books to be issued at the rate of approximately one a month. If the initial numbers are a fair sample, the series will enable libraries and individuals to fill in gaps with rather usable facsimiles of works of considerable interest to the student—works absent from many American libraries. One defect, however, should be noted. The process of reproduction has unfortunately caused a thickening of some of the letters, obliterating such differences, clear in the original, as those between italicized *h* and *b*, *c* and *e*. Occasionally this is a deterrent, even to the eye accustomed to 16th- and 17th-century fonts. Retouching probably accounts for the fact that in *The Art of Limming*, sig. A.ij. appears in the facsimile as A.y. Such defects render the volumes of less use than reproductions done by a more elaborate process. But the elaborate process costs money. Edwards Brothers have done well in making available at low cost reproductions which will serve the purpose of most readers.

W. LEE USTICK

The Henry E. Huntington Library

The Gloomy Egoist. By ELEANOR M. SICKELS. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 408. \$4.75. In this study of the tradition of melancholy as it worked out in the poetry of Great Britain between 1740 and 1830, Miss Sickels has done all that could be expected to render interesting a tangled story, often told before from other points of view, which involves much citation of third-rate literature and reaches no conclusions not already familiar. Perhaps because she knows too well the tedium of most doctoral dissertations, or perhaps because the spectacle of melancholy in others is somehow enspiriting to the beholder, she does not avoid, in her first chapters, a suggestion of flippancy, and her book is nowhere deeply thoughtful. Her treatment of the greater romantic poets is respectful, but she does not respect their melancholy, feeling that it was in some degree an inherited fashion. She thinks that it is not always easy to tell how much of a poet's melancholy is due to literary fashions and to the philosophical ideas

of his day, and how much "to the state of his digestion, the encroachments of tuberculosis, the disposition of his grandfather, or the importunities of his creditors." The possibility that it may have a sound basis in a wise man's view of life as it is does not often occur to her, at any rate in her discussion of the lesser figures of the eighteenth century. Until she comes to Byron, Shelley, and Keats, her frequent innuendo hints that in her opinion melancholy is faintly ludicrous. Miss Sickels has done valuable work in her analysis of "melancholy" into several of its main ingredients, of which "solitude" was perhaps the chief. Continuing the research recorded in Professor Amy Reed's *The Background of Gray's Elegy*, she has made, as a matter of course, extensive use of *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, by Professor R. D. Havens. Her reading is wide, and the modest conclusions announced in her last chapter are established. Considering the known rules of the game, perhaps she is not to be blamed for having merely skimmed the surface of her subject. If she has not wrestled with its more difficult problems, has not tried to place herself imaginatively inside the lives of the two or three hundred "melancholy" poets whom she enumerates with adequate erudition and perhaps an occasional excess of gaiety, she has at any rate assembled many titles on her thread of narrative and has written seventy-five pages of interesting and readable notes.

ODELL SHEPARD

Trinity College

A Johnson Handbook. By MILDRED C. STRUBLE. New York: Crofts, 1933. Pp. xii + 354. \$2.00. The purpose of this book is "to offer, in as compact a format as is feasible, a compendium of the salient data concerning the life, the character, and the principal works of this tremendous man." The first two chapters discuss Johnson's biographers and Johnson the man. Successive chapters are devoted to an exposition of his works, which, for previous want of such a manual perhaps, have been more often praised than read. Seven full-page portraits and photographs illustrate the text.

A handbook to the study of Johnson has long been needed, but the present work seems less a handbook than a series of essays, which for the most part are somewhat chatty and embroidered with exclamation points. Many facts are given, but more synthesis is needed. The Johnsonian may also wish that the author had been less superficial, as, for example, in levying unduly upon the Doctor's defective sense faculties to account for his "stark insensibility" to what moderns call poetic excellence. At least a chapter on neo-classicism, in which Johnson's critical theory is rooted, is necessary fully to explain his critical vagaries.

Of value to students is the chapter on "Miscellaneous Works,"

which contains matter not generally known or easily accessible. A brief but well chosen bibliography concludes this Johnson handbook, the use of which will require sound classroom guidance if the student is to arrive at a just appraisal of the "brightest ornament" of his century.

ROBERT KILBOURNE

The Johns Hopkins University

Pope, Poetry and Prose. With Essays by Johnson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, etc. With an Introduction and Notes by H. V. D. DYSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. Pp. xviii + 188. \$1.25. This volume of selections should be attractive and useful to such instructors as do not dislike having many secondary works represented by brief fragments. It is well produced from the standpoint both of printing and of editing. The Introduction possibly exaggerates the effect of poverty on Pope's career: it was his aristocratic way of life and not his actual poverty that made him desire to make money. In general the factual and interpretative comment is excellent. A notable exception is the treatment of the *Essay on Man* (p. xiii), which is almost silly. Granted that the poem does not present a coherent "system," still it is aesthetically noble, philosophically interesting, and historically very important. How one can get an adequate knowledge of Pope or of his century by reading only a fragment of this poem is a mystery. It is said that Pope was too ignorant to write such a work; but how many writers in whatever language have written more significant philosophical poems?

GEORGE SHERBURN

The University of Chicago

La Poesia di Shelley. By MICHELE RENZULLI. Rome: Campitelli, 1932. Pp. iv + 450. L. 20. Close students of Shelley will find in this book few statements of fact and few ideas of interpretation that are not already familiar. Professor Renzulli's closest approach to "original contribution" will be found in his fully corroborated assertion that the Gothic macabresque was a main item among the influences playing upon Shelley's mind and also among the effects of his poetry. The discussion of Shelley's approach to pantheistic mysticism is equally fresh and cogent. For English readers, however, the value of the book does not lie so much in these things as in the tone of restrained and well-informed enthusiasm that pervades it. The author's admiration of Shelley, as man and poet, is almost unqualified and is unreservedly expressed—often with an eloquence to which the readers of English criticism and books of literary scholarship are unaccustomed. Shelley's more important poems are translated in whole or part into Italian prose,

and at least one of these translations—that of *The Cloud*—has an independent beauty of its own. Those to whom the original poems are familiar will find these versions not uninteresting, because they show that far more than one had supposed of the effects peculiar to Shelley's style can be conveyed without the music of his verse. Professor Renzulli has shown his knowledge of English not only in the accuracy of these translations but in the precision of his remarks about Shelley's poetic style. He knows the literature of his topic thoroughly well, and his book is everywhere thoughtful and judicious without being anywhere cold or dull. Considering it as a whole, one may call it impassioned criticism. After paying his respects to Benedetto Croce and writing what sounds to American ears like a violent attack upon Papini, the author lays down in his Introduction a few critical principles from which he never departs in the body of his work. It is too much to hope that the thousands of students of English literature who are still struggling with the Teutonic incubus will learn from this book how to be at once learned and vivacious. At any rate, it should help many Italians to close sympathetic acquaintance with the great English poet who lived and died in their country.

ODELL SHEPARD

Trinity College

Washington Irving and the Storrows. Letters from England and the Continent, 1821-1828. Edited by STANLEY T. WILLIAMS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. 136. \$2.00. Irving's letters to his Paris banker, Thomas Wentworth Storrow, his wife, two daughters ("the princesses"), and son, cover the period from the publication of *Bracebridge Hall* (1822) to that of *The Conquest of Granada* (1829). As he was on friendly terms with the entire family, he reveals many sides of his life and character, from his financial pressure and hard literary work to the incidents of his travels, his friendships, and his love of ghosts and goblins. The focus of interest in the collection, however, is the light which it throws on his turn from essayist to historian with *The Life and Voyages of Columbus*. He gives a full account of his work and worries in the library of Obadiah Rich, bibliophile and American Consul at Madrid, and of his efforts to reconcile the romantic taste of his public with his new desire to write "dry" books, and his own taste for glamour with the responsibility for accuracy which the work demanded. These conflicts provide a key to his character and to his literary work.

The letters form a part of that accumulation of source material which Mr. Williams has been publishing from time to time in anticipation of his prospective biography. They exhibit his usual care for textual accuracy and completeness.

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Swarthmore College

Walt Whitman and the Civil War. By CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933. Pp. 201. This carefully arranged collection of Whitman material makes available in convenient form a number of hitherto unknown newspaper articles, a group of letters, several first drafts of poems, and many manuscript notes from diaries and other papers in the Harned Collection of the Library of Congress and the private library of Mr. Oscar Lion. It also contains a list of the hospital cases in which the poet interested himself, a few "literary jottings," and a list of some of the newspaper clippings which served as sources for *Specimen Days*. The brief introduction and notes are competent; and the gleanings of original material are of particular value in the additional light which they cast on Whitman's career during the years 1862-5.

LEON HOWARD

Pomona College

Essays and Characters: Montaigne to Goldsmith. Pp. xxvi + 622. \$2.25. *Essays and Characters: Lamb to Thompson.* Pp. xxviii + 784. \$2.75. New York: Macmillan, 1933. Edited by ROBERT WITHINGTON. In these two attractively printed and bound volumes Mr. Withington provides for class use a representative collection of personal essays and characters. Much of the older material is now readily available for the first time. The nature and importance of the character might well have been stressed, for this *genre* has been generally neglected. And it is unfortunate that Breton, Howell, and Cowley could not be included. The authors—all English except Montaigne, who is given in Florio's translation—and selections illustrate adequately the development of the informal essay, but the editor deliberately leaves to teacher and student much of the task—and pleasure—of annotation and of tracing literary relationships.

JAMES G. MCMANAWAY

The Johns Hopkins University

Dante's Inferno. With a translation into English triple rhyme by LAURENCE BINYON. London and New York: Macmillan, 1933. Pp. ix + 401. \$3.00. Mr. Binyon's volume prints the English and the Italian text of the *Inferno* on opposite pages. It is without notes, but in the argument prefixed to each canto he inserts brief bits of commentary. The distinctive feature of his translation is its frequent use of elision, by which he seeks to imitate more accurately the movement of the original, where so much of it occurs. But the trouble is that, in English, elision is comparatively unfamiliar and does not follow fixed rules. In Mr. Binyon's

terza rima the metre requires it in some places and forbids it in others, and he also has many anapests where elision is not involved; hence care is needed if lines are not to be misread at first sight.

Mr. Binyon's *Inferno* is a slightly freer version than some of the other rhymed ones, and seems to catch Dante's mental and phrasal manner less well than it might. It renders not a few passages deftly, and contains some really notable lines; but a large part of it is undistinguished, and in general it lacks finish, as witness numerous flaws of detail. Such flaws are often found in translations; but from Mr. Binyon, a true poet in his own right, one expects better workmanship. It would appear that as a translator he, like many eminent poets before him, is too easily satisfied.

LACY LOCKERT

Nashville, Tennessee

Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope, A History of the Five Editions. By WILLIAM DARNALL MACCLINTOCK. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. x + 74. \$2.00. Professor MacClintock's forty-year interest in Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* finds partial expression in this brochure. In three chapters he discusses the origin, significance, and reception of the *Essay*; a history of the five editions of it; and a summary of the changes from edition to edition; and in an appendix he gives a brief biographical sketch, a list of Warton's works, and a bibliographical note. There are ten full-page reproductions of title pages. Warton's *Essay*, of which Vol. I was published in 1756 and Vol. II in 1782 (along with the fourth edition of Vol. I), is an important book of the eighteenth century, whether regarded as a symptom or as an influence in the passage from "Classicism" to "Romanticism." Its core or thesis "is the principle that if a writer has the natural gift of moral or satirical poetry, he 'will never succeed, with equal merit, in the higher branches of his art'"; and Warton's purpose is to prove that Pope cannot be ranked among the greatest of poets. His method and judgments met with approval in some of his readers, and encountered sharp antagonism in others. Professor MacClintock confines himself here to the history of the book itself, and does not much discuss his author's aesthetic or philosophy. He sets out a considerable mass of details of information. The account of the composition of volume II and the data on the two "issues" of the 1782 edition of it are particularly welcome.

R. H. GRIFFITH

The University of Texas

Thomas Southerne Dramatist. By JOHN WENDELL DODDS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933. Pp. viii + 238. \$2.00. This is a useful piece of work, thoughtful, careful, and uncommonly well written. Southerne's merits are not exaggerated, but Professor Dodds is keenly alive to the importance of filling in the Restoration and early-eighteenth-century pictures with studies of the minor figures. This was particularly desirable in Southerne's case, since "the course of the eighteenth-century sentimental theatre was in no small measure directed by *The Fatal Marriage* and *Oroonoko*." It is to be hoped that Mr. Dodds will soon proceed to give us the plays, for the editing of which he is evidently well qualified.

H. S.

Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature (Volume xv), edited by G. H. MAYNADIER, R. L. HAWKINS, and A. BURKHARD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. 370. This volume contains F. G. Black, "The Technique of Letter Fiction in English from 1740 to 1800"; R. P. Blake, "Georgian Secular Literature, Epic, Romantic, and Lyric (1100-1800)"; F. T. Bowers, "The Date and Composition of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*"; A. Burkhard, "Hans Burgkmair's Work for Emperor Maximilian I"; L. H. Butterfield, "Charles Churchill and *A Fragment of an Epic Poem*"; P. H. Harris, "The Lost Chapter of Cochin's *Voyage d'Italie*: A Document of the DeLancey Collection"; C. T. Harrison, "Bacon, Hobbes, Boyle, and the Ancient Atomists"; R. L. Hawkins, "Rachel and Arsene Houssaye: Unpublished Letters"; G. Loomis, "Saint Edmund and the Lodbrok (Lothbroc) Legend"; E. J. Simmons, "A. S. Pushkin, *The Avaricious Knight*"; H. M. Smyser, "The Engulfed Lucerna of the *Pseudo-Turpin*"; T. Starck, "The German Dialogue in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, and the Question of Authorship"; H. P. Vincent, "The Death of William Wycherley"; B. J. Whiting, "Proverbs in Certain Middle English Romances in Relation to their French Sources"; and C. B. Woods, "'Captain B——'s Play.'"

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H. S.

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